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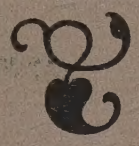
Medieval Renaissance and Modern



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ART STUDIES

An extra number of The American Journal of Archaeology : 1928

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ART STUDIES

Medieval Renaissance and Modern

EDITED BY MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF
THE FINE ARTS AT HARVARD AND PRINCETON
UNIVERSITIES

CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1928

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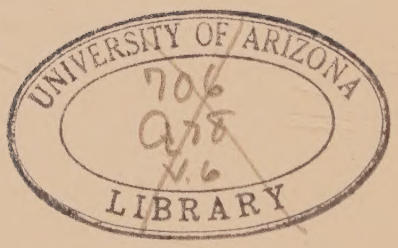

PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A.

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MICHAEL ANGELO'S *CUPID:* SOME DISPUTED POINTS

1. London. Victoria and Albert Museum. Anatomical Model. Michael Angelo

2. London. Victoria and Albert Museum. Cupid. Michael Angelo

MICHAEL ANGELO'S *CUPID:* SOME DISPUTED POINTS

By ERIC MACLAGAN

I

A CONSIDERABLE number of questions as to the kneeling figure generally known as the *Cupid*, acquired in 1861 with the rest of the Italian sculpture of the Gigli-Campana collection for the South Kensington Museum, have at various times been the matter of discussion — quite apart from the doubts as to its authorship which have been expressed in England by Sir Charles Holroyd and Mr. Davies, in France by M. Reymond, and in Germany by Dr. Mackowsky and Dr. Brinckmann.[1] Is it, in the first place, to be identified with the statue made by Michael Angelo during his first (or perhaps his second) visit to Rome for Jacopo Galli? Is it, if so, to be called *Cupid* or *Apollo?* How came it, as the work of a sculptor whose reputation has never been eclipsed, to be lost sight of for the best part of three hundred years? What were the exact circumstances of its rediscovery? How is the action of the figure to be interpreted, and is the position of the restored left arm to be regarded as approximately correct?

Our sources of information as to the statue made for Jacopo Galli may be reduced to two: the *Life* of Michael Angelo by Condivi, printed in 1553, and the description of Jacopo Galli's collection by Ulisse Aldrovandi in his *Statue Antiche*, printed (as an Appendix to Lucio Mauro's little guide to the antiquities of Rome) in 1556. Both of these accounts were written ten years or more before Michael Angelo's death in 1564. Condivi's statement was copied by

[1] The *Cupid* is no doubt mentioned in all the monographs on Michael Angelo that have been written since its discovery. The principal references are those by Charles Clément, p. 329; Charles Heath Wilson, pp. 33–34; Herman Grimm (edition of 1879), p. 184; Anton Springer, vol. I, pp. 23–24 and 307; Heinrich Wölfflin, pp. 30–32; John Addington Symonds, vol. I, pp. 62–65; Henry Thode, vol. III, pp. 118–121, vol. IV (*Kritische Untersuchungen*, 1), pp. 51–56; Charles Holroyd, pp. 107–109; Friedrich Knapp, pp. xvii, 13, 160; Karl Frey, vol. I, pp. 318–329; Carl Justi, p. 79; Hans Mackowsky, pp. 364–366; Gerald Davies, p. 40; Georg Brandes, p. 132. See also Eugène Guillaume, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Series 2, vol. XIII (1876), p. 60; Adolph Michaelis, in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. XIII (1878), pp. 158–160; Franz Wickhoff, in *Mittheilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vol. II (1882), pp. 424–426; Wilhelm von Bode, *Denkmäler*, pl. 504, p. 170; Marcel Reymond, *La Sculpture Florentine* (1900), p. 77; Bernhard Berenson, *Drawings of Florentine Painters* (1903), vol. II, p. 84, no. 1484; André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. IV, pp. 221–222; Albert Erich Brinckmann, *Barockskulptur* (1919), p. 28. Mr. Berenson suggests a date contemporary with the painting of the roof of the Sistine Chapel. Dr. Brinckmann's conclusion is that if the figure is by Michael Angelo it must belong to his early period and have been executed under the influence of the antique; he tentatively assigns it, however, to an archaizing master of the middle of the sixteenth century. The strong arguments in favor of the authenticity of the *Cupid* are perhaps most convincingly stated by Thode and Frey. There is an interesting allusion to it, "dieser echte, frühe, höchst merkwürdige Cupido ist eben doch auf der Motivjagd entstanden oder eingefangen worden," in a letter of Jacob Burckhardt's written on August 8, 1879 (*Briefe an einen Architekten*, 1913, p. 97).

Vasari in the second edition of his *Lives*, and Condivi or Vasari may have served Lomazzo as his authority for an allusion to the statue in his *Trattato*.[1] Similarly the account by Aldrovandi was abridged and republished in Latin by Boissard.

Condivi, when he tells of the Bacchus made for Jacopo Galli in or about 1497, adds that Michael Angelo also made for him "un Cupidine," and Vasari, who can hardly have failed to see the statue for himself, only amplifies the statement so far as to call it "un Cupido di marmo quanto il vivo." Aldrovandi on the other hand, after speaking of the Bacchus which stood in the garden, goes on to describe, in a room in the house, "uno Apollo intiero ignudo con la pharetra e saette à lato: & ha un vaso à piedi, e opera medesimamente di Michele Angelo."

The discrepancy between the two accounts, so nearly contemporary, has led some critics to doubt whether they refer, after all, to the same statue. The description given by Aldrovandi has led others (Michaelis and Springer among them) to deny that the statue can be identified with that now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. But neither doubt nor denial seems on the whole to be justified. There is nothing improbable in supposing that Michael Angelo, who had been brought up in contact with the vague Platonic mysticism then current in the circle that moved about Lorenzo de' Medici, would have represented the God of Love as a wingless youth rather than as the feathered child with whom the remains of Roman art had made the artists of the Renaissance familiar. And it is even more likely that the classical scholar Aldrovandi, seeing such a figure, should have thought the name of Apollo more appropriate. It was probably a mere guess of his own. Visitors to that house were not given very accurate information about the works of art. For Francesco d'Ollanda declares that he was told — though he did not believe it — that the *Bacchus* was ancient Roman. As to Michael Angelo's own intention Condivi had of course far the better claim to speak.

Cupid or Apollo, the last reliable trace of the statue's presence in the house of the Galli, where Jacopo had been succeeded by Paolo, is little later than the middle of the sixteenth century. But in 1572 the *Bacchus*, which hitherto at any rate had kept it company, was sold for 240 ducats to Francesco de' Medici, through Diomede Leoni. This fact is cited by Gotti on the best possible authority, and it can hardly be discredited — as Michaelis has suggested [2] — on the ground that the *Cambridge Sketch-book* apparently shows it standing several years later (c. 1583) in the Villa Madama. Apart from other possibilities, casts from Michael Angelo's figures seem to have been common enough

[1] Ed. 1844, vol. III, p. 96, at the end of the chapter, *Della forma di Venere;* the *Trattato* was first printed in 1585.

[2] In the *Jahrbuch d. k. deutschen arch. Instit.*, vol. VI (1891), p. 158. Gotti's statement is to be found in the *Gallerie di Firenze*, p. 83; see Thode for a concise discussion of the evidence.

in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the drawing may have been made from such a cast. Gori, in the preface to the third volume of the *Museum Florentinum*,[1] also mentions the purchase of the statue, but gives the credit of it to Fernando, Francesco's brother and successor. He adds, however, a statement that the *Cupid* was bought at the same time. The possibility of this has been suggested by Frey and Thode; but as far as I know Gori's quite definite evidence has not been cited before. Gori excuses himself from saying anything more about the *Cupid, signum elegantissimum* — probably because he had no idea where it was.

In the second half of the sixteenth century then the *Cupid* disappears. When we come to the discovery of the statue now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, soon after 1850, there are again two authorities; and again their witness does not altogether agree. Two persons appear to have been present at that discovery — Migliarini, who was engaged in buying on behalf of Signor Ottavio Gigli and who afterwards made the catalogue of his collection, and Santarelli, who was later to undertake the restoration of the statue. According to Migliarini,[2] whose account has been followed by all subsequent writers with one exception, the *Cupid* was in the Gualfonda gardens, formerly the property of the Riccardi, and with it were two statues by Andrea Pisano which also came into the Gigli collection; these two statues are now in the Louvre. A fourth statue which Migliarini describes as still in the Gualfonda garden, was the figure of Pope Boniface VIII now in the Duomo at Florence. The Gualfonda (Valfonda) gardens are accordingly cited in Robinson's *Catalogue of the Sculpture at South Kensington*,[3] and in the many references that have been based upon that book — certainly the most important contribution to the study of Italian Sculpture that had hitherto been made. But in Heath Wilson's *Life of Michael Angelo* a different account is given, on the direct authority of Santarelli. The passage runs as follows:

Some years ago the Professor Miliarini and the eminent sculptor the Cavaliere Santarelli visited the gardens of the Oricellari (in Florence) to look at some works of art, and to give an opinion of them to Signor Giglio, who purchased on account of the Marchese Campani. They were invited by the man in charge to see some figures in a cellar, where they found three by

[1] *Museum Florentinum* (1734), vol. III, *Ad lectorem praefatio*, pp. xvi–xvii. As Gori's folio volumes are not particularly easy to consult, the relevant passage may be quoted here. Speaking of the "Bacchus cum Satyrisco" engraved on his plates LI, LII, LIII, he writes: "Perfecit hoc nobilissimum symplegma, altitudinis decem palmarum, rogatu Iacobi Gallii Patricii Romani, viri egregii iudicii, artisque suae aestimatoris optimi, cui postea dedit; adiecitque Signum Cupidinis marmorei, multo antea confectum, ut colligi potest ex eodem Vasario: quae in Gallii aedibus spectata sunt usque ad annum M. D. CLXII. & paullo etiam ultra: nam eodem anno haec signa describuntur ab Ulysse Aldrovando, & apud Iacobum Gallium servari dicuntur. Haec eadem Signa sui iuris fecit Ferdinandus I. Magnus Dux Etruriae, summa cum laude semper celebrandus. De Cupidinis Signo elegantissimo, deque aliis Statuis quibus veterum Sculptorum gloriam aemulatus est Bonarrotius, quasque describit Vasarius, nihil opus est ut loci dicem."

[2] In the *Catalogue* of the Campana Collection, p. 73, Pl. LXXXVII.

[3] Pp. 133 ff.

Andrea Pisano. The attention of Santarelli was attracted by another in a dark corner, and after peering at it in the uncertain light, he called to Miliarini and said, "Look at that"; after an earnest and startled look, he said, "It is his," and the sculptor replied, "Certainly it is his."

The finding of the statue in the cellar has been noticed by Thode and others.[1] But it has not apparently been observed that Heath Wilson — that is, Santarelli — speaks not of the Gualfonda garden but of the Orti Oricellari, that most famous of Florentine pleasure grounds, for thirty years the home of the Platonic Academy until its dissolution in 1522. Both gardens, it would seem, belonged at the time to the Marchese Stiozzi-Ridolfi, who sold the *Cupid* to Giglio in 1854. Both gardens were full of sculpture of all kinds. But while it is difficult to see why Santarelli, in telling his picturesque story, should have confused the two, there is more reason to understand such a confusion by Migliarini in compiling his *Catalogue*, which leaves a good deal to be desired in exactitude. For the three "statues by Andrea Pisano" — the Pope Boniface VIII and the two statues in the Louvre, all of them parts of the original façade of the Duomo — were originally in the Gualfonda garden and were moved from there to the Orti Oricellari; the two gardens are only separated by what is now the Railway Station. But if the *Cupid* — obviously an eligible property for a needy Marquis to offer to an omnivorous collector — had been brought with the other figures, it is surely unlikely that it would have been left in the dark corner of the cellar and only seen accidentally by the intending purchasers. What on the other hand could be more likely than that the same statue, damaged as it apparently was by a fall and lacking an arm, should have been put aside in some such place for repair and then forgotten during one of the many changes of ownership which the Orti Oricellari underwent?

Assuming that the Santarelli story is the true one, and the *Cupid* was found in the Orti Oricellari and not in the Gualfonda garden, an explanation of its presence there immediately suggests itself. In 1572 Francesco de' Medici — who in two years was to succeed his father Cosimo as the Grand Duke — bought the *Bacchus* and, according to Gori, the *Cupid* with it. The next year his world-famous mistress, afterwards to become his wife, Bianca Capello — whose inconvenient husband had been murdered three years before — was installed in the Orti Oricellari and the adjoining palazzo, now finally abandoned by the broken family of the Rucellai. Is it not a plausible suggestion that while keeping the *Bacchus* in his own collection, from which it has passed through the Uffizi and the Bargello to its present home in the Accademia, he should have given the image of the God of Love to the fascinating Venetian whom he openly adored, for the decoration of the gardens in which he was to

[1] Symonds speaks of the "Gualfonda (Rucellai)" gardens, apparently combining the two accounts.

spend so much of his time? And is it not easy to imagine how in the succession of Orsini and Medici and Ridolfi and Canonici and Stiozzi who followed Bianca's dubious offspring Don Antonio in the ownership of the gardens, the *Cupid*, once it had been damaged, should have disappeared for a while?

There is apparently, however, another possibility to be considered. In November, 1914, I received a letter from the late Herbert Horne asking me a number of questions as to the history of the *Cupid*. "I imagine — fondly imagine perhaps" he wrote, with an even more than ordinary accumulation of qualifying phrases, "that I have discovered a scrap of evidence that would seem to cast a side light on the so-called *Cupid*, ascribed to Michelangelo in your Museum."

To this letter I replied, giving much of the information here printed and adding a note as to an identification I had recently made of one of the anatomical models by Michael Angelo in the Victoria and Albert Museum as a study for the right arm of the *Cupid*. This model has since been discussed with the others in an article in the *Burlington Magazine* [1] and I need not repeat what has already been published there.

Horne's reply, dated from 8 Lung'arno Archibusieri on Dec. 2, 1914, runs as follows:

I am extremely obliged to you for answering all my queries at such length. But please do not expect too much. What I have found is, as I told you, but a scrap of documentary evidence, which any one might have come across, but which no one appears to have noticed.

Your identification of the wax model interests me greatly. What is really the action of that right arm? But first let me say that my discovery, if it proves anything, proves that the statue was executed for a Florentine patron, and therefore, in all probability done in Florence. The drawing in the Brit: Mus: must surely be dismissed, as being too late to have any connection with the marble. My feeling is that the statue is nearest in style to the early relief of the Battle of the Centaurs in Casa Buonarroti; and that it was executed in the interval between the death of Lorenzo, in Apr: 1492, and the flight to Bologna in Oct: 1494. There are still passages in it which are tentative. It follows from my document that your statue cannot be the *Cupid* executed for Jac: Galli in Rome; and consequently, as I hope to show, that the left arm has been wrongly restored. In other words, its action has nothing to do with the action of the rise of the figure, and renders the statue as a whole, unintelligible.

This brings me to my question: what is the action of the right arm? J. C. Robinson, obsessed by the notion that the statue is the lost *Cupid* of J. Galli, says that it is "extended downwards, as if about to take up some object from the ground." J. A. Symonds goes to the length of declaring that "the right hand is lowered to lift an arrow from the ground." But as I recollect the figure, and as far as I can judge from the very poor photos which I possess, the right hand is holding the rock on which the figure is kneeling, as if the subject would steady himself, as he leans forward, and turning his head to the right, glances downwards. In short, the statue is not *Cupid* at all, but a Narcissus. I have no Plato or Ovid at hand, and am not well enough to get to the libraries; but a passage in a book, which I do happen to

[1] Vol. XLIV (1924), pp. 8–11.

have by me, — "Le immagini de Filostrato seniore fatte in volgare de F. Mercuro," Lib. I, sec. XXIII, Narcisso, — exactly puts into words the motion of the marble. "Un giovinetto tornando tèsta dalla caccia, si affaccia alla fonte; e trae l'amore da quella, et é preso della sua stessa forma." The quiver beside him is empty, for he is returning from the chase. As he leans over the brink of the fountain, he catches his reflection in the water. The left arm, then, must have been raised in a gesture of surprise and admiration. I suspect that the parallel between the "Imagine de Narcisso" and the marble might be carried a step further. Turning as the figure does, to his right, he would catch the reflection of the contour of his back — "le cose di Narcisso" as the translator puts it: but I leave you to turn up the original text. Perhaps I have misunderstood the translator's note. All this, however, would be quite in the spirit of the Florentine Platonists. (A MS. of Philostratus was brought by Filelfo from Constantinople in 1427, and was therefore, doubtless known to tradition.)

I have ventured to write you all this, because you tell me you have never been able to understand the action of the statue. I should be interested to know what you think of my explanation, and whether the wax model bears it out in any way. It is so many years since I saw the statue, that it is only too possible that I have misunderstood the action of the right arm, which, as it seems to me, is the chief clue (in the absence of the left one), to the explanation of the subject of the marble.

P. S. I find that after all, I have omitted an important point. You say, too, that you have never been able to understand "the sort of position for which the figure was intended." I think there can be no doubt that it was originally the figure of a fountain, and stood in the centre of a basin of water. The level of the water was intended to arrive at the level of the underside of the original marble base. Seen thus, the figure would be reflected in the water. Are there no traces of the figure having served as a fountain? Why did Santarelli add that second base? How greatly the statue would gain, if his additions could be removed!

Yet another point: — The figure is in movement. He is drawing back slightly, in surprise. The weight of the body is not in the right arm.

Ten days later, after I had sent him out some photographs and some further notes, Horne wrote again (December 12):

I am infinitely obliged to you for all the trouble you have taken in answering my letter, and also for the photographs.

First let me say that your contention that the wax model is a study for the r. arm of the "Cupid" seems to me more than plausible. The movement of the hand and wrist is in itself almost conclusive. The difference of pose in the upper arm is to be explained by the fact that the model was doubtlessly done from the dead subject; the torso of which would obviously be in movement, but rigid: while the rest of the arm and the hand were posed as nearly as possible in the position required. Is not a similar difference, produced by the rigidity of the torso, to be seen in the models for the big David?

I am glad you find my explanation of the subject of the statue a reasonable one. The objection that the symbol of Narcissus in antique representations was a spear, and not a bow & arrows, may be met on other ground than that you suggest. A symbol of some kind was wanted, but it was obviously impossible to introduce a spear, as an accessory to a crouching figure of this kind. The same difficulty would hold good of a bow. Santarelli found this out when he hit on the absurd convention of making the handle of a bow stand for the whole. And so a quiver was introduced, but merely as a symbol.

The real difficulty, so far as my explanation is concerned, is in the nature of the object which the r. hand is grasping. When seen in profile (looking at the right side of the statue) that object might well be taken for a ledge of rock, which the figure is grasping, were it not for that odd, shapeless sort of hole, which from the photographs does not appear to be a drill hole for a metal dowel. In this view, the action of the r. arm and hand does not seem that of raising some object from the ground, but of steadying the body. Heath Wilson says that the r. hand was never finished. From the photographs the thumb especially would seem to have been left in an unfinished state. Is it not possible that the formless object between the thumb and the first finger is merely an unfinished piece of the block that was intended to have been cut away, or otherwise modified? Were it not for this object, one would certainly not say, judging from the action of the r. arm and hand, that the figure was raising something from the ground.

I had not realised that the lower part of the back had suffered so. It has evidently largely lost the original subtlety of its modelling. What you say about the pistol-shots is interesting as indicating the original position of the figure. All that would agree well with my suggestion that it was the figure of a fountain. It cannot, in any case, I think, have stood upon a high column; as in that position, the lower part of the figure would have largely disappeared.

Since writing last to you, I have found out that at the end of the 18th Cent., there still existed an inventory of the statue in the garden of the Valfonda, taken in 1550. Unfortunately the family in whose archives it was preserved, managed to go such a series of croppers in the last century, that there is little hope of its being still in existence. However, they are great friends of friends of mine and I have already done my utmost to see it, if it is still to be seen.

So soon as I can clear up this and some other minor points, and put my article into shape, I will send it to you if I may. Should you sufficiently approve of it, I hope you will be able to see your way to publish your discovery of the wax model at the same time, if it can be arranged. I must confine myself to two points; the history of the statue, and the explanation of its subject. To enter into stylistic discussions is difficult at this distance from the original. Besides, I am not well enough to get to the libraries, so must reduce my study to practical politics. The suggestion that the Munich marble may have been in Ghiberti's collection, and so have influenced the young Michelangelo is a most interesting one. I don't happen to have a photograph of the so-called Ilioneus: but I must look that point up.

The hair and the drapery are also said to be unfinished. The restorations in stucco must have been done by Santarelli. When he said he did not touch the hand, he must have meant, that he did not touch it with the chisel.

And there unfortunately the matter rests. Shortly afterwards I became occupied with other matters, and in April of 1916 to the regret of all his friends Herbert Horne died. He left his papers, as well as his works of art and his newly restored house, to the city of Florence; and somewhere among those papers the information as to the *Cupid* or *Narcissus* presumably lurks. If any student of the Florentine Renaissance has the opportunity of going through them in search of other and more important matters he might do worse than keep an eye open for this still cryptic document.

But unless Horne's discovery, if it is ever rediscovered, proves very conclusive indeed (interesting it can hardly fail to be), it seems to me that the

old identification with Jacopo Galli's *Cupid*, made either at the time of Michael Angelo's first visit to Rome (about 1497) or, much less probably soon after 1505 (according to a document cited by Frey, Jacopo Galli seems to have died in 1505), should hold good; an identification now strengthened by Gori's statement as to its sale to Florence in the second half of the sixteenth century, of which I was still unaware while I was corresponding with Horne.

The identification of the figure assuredly to some extent affects the difficult question of the action of the left arm, a merely conjectural restoration as we now see it by Santarelli. Frey's theory that the right hand grasps the bow and the left draws or releases the string is, as Thode has pointed out, difficult to reconstruct; but the idea of a bow brandished in the raised left hand, as suggested by Santarelli, seems wholly alien to Michael Angelo's genius. The position of the left upper arm, however, from shoulder to elbow, is practically inevitable.

Santarelli was presumably responsible not only for the left arm but for the lower part of the rocky base; the original part of that base is extremely small and the statue when resting on it must have been very liable to accident. The head, broken off and rather clumsily replaced, is undoubtedly original; and the nature of the break suggests that it was caused by the jar of a fall. Such a fall would give an obvious explanation for the breaking of the raised left arm; it must presumably have been smashed to pieces or some attempt would have been made to replace it.

Further, while the statue was still accessible, some ribald marksman selected an obvious target for his pistol and fired at it several times from a position just opposite to the right hand, his bullets grazing the fore-arm. Much of the surface has also suffered from prolonged exposure to the weather.

The *Cupid* is thus in a much less satisfactory state than most of Michael Angelo's sculpture. But that it is his it seems to me unreasonable to deny. To the very strong stylistic evidence, perhaps most convincingly stated by Wickhoff and Frey, must be added the external confirmation of the wax sketch for the right arm already mentioned. I do not wish to repeat here what I have already written on this point in the *Burlington Magazine* except so far as to remind the reader that the Gherardini collection of models purchased for what is now the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1854 includes six anatomical studies in wax, undoubtedly all by the same hand and made at about the same time, representing six separate limbs; two legs and an arm corresponding with those of the *David* (commissioned in 1501), one leg with that of the dead Christ in the *Pietà* (commissioned in 1497–98) and one arm with that of the *Cupid* (probably made about 1497). Even those who refuse to accept these anatomical sketches as by Michael Angelo and regard them as

studies made after his work would, I think, have to admit that the maker of them apparently regarded the *Cupid* as Michael Angelo's work; and he could not have been influenced by the discovery made by Migliarini and Santarelli soon after 1850, as the models were then already in London being offered for sale. But that these particular wax sketches at any rate are by Michael Angelo himself, made just after the time of his dissections in the hospital of Santo Spirito, I can see no valid reason to doubt.

There is always a temptation to subtract from the accepted work of the very greatest artists everything that does not obviously reach the highest possible level of achievement. The *Cupid* is not Michael Angelo's masterpiece, and never was; further, it is in a poor state of preservation, the namby-pamby restoration of the left arm is an offence to the eye from almost every point of view, and the discoloration of the surface makes it particularly difficult to photograph satisfactorily. For all these reasons it is easy to see why some critics have doubted its authenticity. None the less, that mediocre sculptor but fortunate explorer of cellars, the Cavaliere Santarelli, was surely right when he first peered at the broken statue in its dark corner and recognized it for what it is.

DECORATIVE FORMS OF THE FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE: THEIR DIFFUSION BY MOSLEM ART

1. ʿAmmân. Citadel. (R. E. Brünnow und A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Fig. 840)

2. Ukhaidir. North Façade. (Oskar Reuther, *Ocheidir*, Taf. XVII, in *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 20)

DECORATIVE FORMS OF THE FIRST ROMANESQUE STYLE: THEIR DIFFUSION BY MOSLEM ART

By J. PUIG I CADAFALCH

I

The ornamental forms of the first Romanesque style, which had taken definitive shape in the monuments of Sassanian Persia, were imitated during the tenth century in the façades of Cappadocian monasteries [1] and later in the churches of the same century in Constantinople. From these churches, important as a center of diffusion westward, the style spread to Lombardy, Central Italy, and the Mediterranean coast of France and Catalonia, whence it invaded a large part of Europe during the eleventh century.

That there was an historical sequence in this movement is implied by the geographical position of the center where the typical elements of this style originated; while one current was spreading to the north towards Christian countries, another current must have separated and flowed southward, where it had an extraordinary influence upon primitive Moslem art. The theory of Persian origins for the decorative forms of the Byzantine and first Romanesque styles would be open to strong objections, if it were not that we find analogous elements ornamenting the oldest Moslem monuments. It is not remarkable that the force of Chaldean tradition should have been strong enough to exercise a powerful influence on the art that was building grandiose mosques and sumptuous palaces in the very spot where the tall Babylonian *siggurats*, as well as the immense palaces of the mighty kings of ancient Persia, had stood. The influence exerted at a distance, on so great a number of arts of diverse origins, must have made itself felt with even more force on one developed on the same soil by native workers, with the self-same materials. Moreover, Islam tended to copy and to adapt: "Les arts exercées par les musulmans peuvent être considérées à l'origine comme une variation spéciale de l'art local à l'usage des musulmans.[2] "

We find the forms derived from Sassanian Persia in the oldest Moslem buildings, in the castles and the mosques of the first centuries after the Hegira.

Thus, the most characteristic themes of the imposing façade of Ctesiphon [3] are repeated in the great portal of the citadel at 'Ammân (Fig. 1); the re-

[1] Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1925.

[2] H. Saladin, *Manuel d'art musulman*, in *L'Architecture*, Paris, 1907.

[3] J. Puig i Cadafalch, *Decorative Forms of the First Romanesque Style*, in *Art Studies*, IV (1926), Fig. 11. (Later references will be given briefly: Puig i Cadafalch, in *First Romanesque Style*.)

semblance is so striking that the one seems to be a reduction or a simplification of the other: a great arch more or less like a parabola, framed by stories of arcades of different sizes, which are upheld by double columns, is the basis of this interesting construction, which has been so much discussed, and which Orientalists believe either to be pre-Moslem or to date from the early years of the Hegira.[1]

The palace of Ukhaidir (Fig. 2) represents yet another similar derivation. The large arches of the lower story are replaced in the second (on the north façade) by blind niches preceded by an arcade. In the upper story of another façade, there is also a series of great arcades, ornamented with small blind ones that (as in that of the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon) surmount two series of small niches. It is difficult to fix the date of this monument, which Miss Bell believes to be of the seventh or eighth century.[2]

In the neighborhood of Ukhaidir there are several monuments decorated with elements belonging to the same style as the tower of 'Atshân, which Miss Bell dates as of the ninth century, and which is crowned by a frieze of niches with double columns just as in the palace at Ctesiphon (Fig. 3). Among these monuments, the especially noteworthy are the tower at Târîg which has a frieze of blind arcades in the base, framed by the *arraba*, the towers of Ghazni, one of which was constructed by Mahaînd of Ghazni (943–1030),[3] and that of Mudjdah (Fig. 5), decorated with blind windows in the lower part.

Let us note the extraordinary permanence of one purely constructive feature. Brick arches are usually built by placing the courses radially, which is called the keystone system. The larger surfaces of the bricks are joined normally to the intrados of the arch. In the East, from earliest times, other methods have been in use: the bricks were joined obliquely to the intrados. The great vault of the Palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon was built in this manner. In the great windows of Ctesiphon, the arches are of bricks laid flat, that is, with their faces parallel with the intrados (Fig. 4). This type of construction is repeated in the great windows at Ukhaidir and in the niches at Mudjdah (Fig. 5). It is interesting to recall how this method was transmitted to the first Romanesque style not only in the small ornamental arches of the cornices and in the ornamental arcades, but also in the arcades of eleventh century cloisters (Fig. 6).[4]

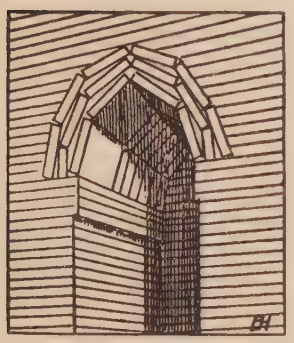
[1] F. Sarre und E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise in Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet* (Berlin, 1911), vol. II, p. 89.

[2] Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir*, Oxford, 1914.

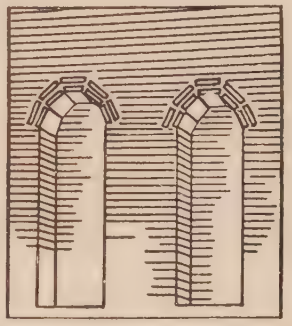
[3] F. Sarre, *L'art de la Perse ancienne*, trans. P. Baudry, Paris, 1923.

[4] It is interesting to note in this article, which may be read by American architects, the origin of a method of vault construction that has had a most remarkable development in America, where it is known as "Timbrel vault construction." It was carried there in 1885 by a Catalan builder, Mr. Guastavino, who had constructed some interesting buildings in Barcelona. This method has been in use since ancient times in the Catalan country, where it was very popular; that explains its use on stairway vaults and in many church vaults in Catalonia.

3. Ctesiphon. Niches. (F. Sarre und E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, vol. III, Taf. XLII)



4. Ctesiphon. Niche. (Sarre und Herzfeld, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, Fig. 169)



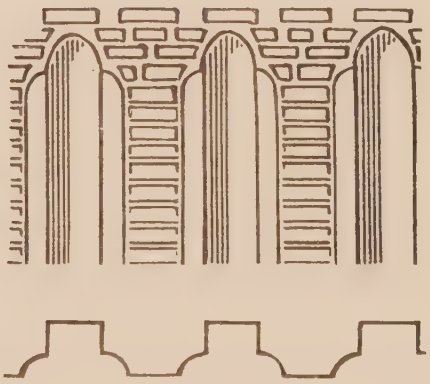
5. Mudjdah. Niches. (Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *Palace and Mosque at Ukhaidir*, Pl. 47, Fig. 3.)

6. Ivrea. Cathedral Cloister. (A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, Pl. 101, Fig. 4)

7. Samarra. Minaret of Al-Malwiyyah. (Sarre und Herzfeld, *Op. cit.*, vol. III, Taf. XXII)

8. Samarra. Minaret of the Mosque of Aboudalef. (Sarre und Herzfeld, *Op. cit.*, vol. III, Taf. XVI)

9. Samarra. Mosque. (L. de Beylié, *Prome et Samarra*, p. 115)



10. Samarra. Mosque of Aboudalef. Detail of niches. (Sarre und Herzfeld, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, Fig. 28)

Samarra, an ancient town situated one hundred and ten kilometers northwest of Bagdad, will give us concrete data on the survival in Moslem monuments of old Chaldean forms, transmitted through the last Persian period. Samarra was founded by the Abbasside Caliph Ouatek ibn Motassem in 642, and abandoned in 875. Its great monuments were erected during this period of two hundred and thirty-three years.

The minaret of the mosque of Al-Malwiyyah (Fig. 7), the great mosque of Samarra, has the upper coping ornamented with spherical niches, combined with the characteristic projecting arcade (Fig. 9), as in the traditional Persian and the Byzantine treatment. The exterior spiral ramparts of the great sacred Babylonian towers have also been retained.

Another mosque with spiral minaret is to be found at Aboudalef (Fig. 8), fifteen kilometers from Samarra, and the base of the huge tower, built according to the usual plan, is also decorated with niches (Fig. 10). The building was constructed in the ninth century.

The southern portal of Raqqah is another example of this style. On the basis of its material and structure, it has been dated between 878 and 882 A.D., and is therefore nearly contemporary with those of Samarra. The place was the residence of the Harem el Rashŭd (787–803 A.D.). Analogous forms are repeated in the scattered ruins, as in the minaret of the great mosque. At Raqqah (Fig. 11) the forms are stylized more in the Moslem manner, and polylobed arches begin to dominate. As M. Mâle has said, "Les architectures sassanides imitaient au fond d'une niche, le beau dessin du *pecter*, ce coquillage qu'on recueillait sur les graves du Golfe Persique," [1] but the slight undulation that outlined Persian and Roman niches has been accentuated into the polylobe arch. The theme is repeated in different stages of transformation at Qaçr al-'Ashig (Fig. 12).

The niche theme was long current in Persia. The tombs of Nasir-el-Hāg and the three Sacjdes at Amol, which apparently belong to the thirteenth century, have the upper part of the cornices ornamented with little blind arches that support real niches.[2]

The North African monuments of the first centuries of the Hegira have come down to us in a poor state of preservation, generally speaking, but those that do remain show traces of the old Sassanian influence. It may so be seen in the remains of the Qaçr el-Manâra of Qal'a of Benî-Hammâd, the old capital of the North African empires independent of the Fatimites of Egypt.

Qal'a of Benî-Hammâd is in the department of Constantine, and was founded in 1007 by Hammâd, of the Berber tribe of the Samhadja. He made

[1] Emile Mâle, *Les influences arabes dans l'art roman*, in *Revue des deux Mondes*, VII période, vol. XVIII (1923), p. 31.

[2] Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischer Völker*, Figs. 98, 99; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler*.

it the capital of Mogreb, which at that time embraced a large part of northern Africa. El Mansur, one of the successors of Hammâd abandoned Qal'a in 1090, and changed the seat of his government to Bugia. The town was later destroyed by the Almohades in 1152; its ruins therefore are of great archaeological value.

In Qal'a the palace Qaçr el-Manâra (Fig. 13) is of the greatest interest on account of its walls, which are decorated with niches their whole length. The niches end in a characteristic Moslem pendentive.

The same architectural theme is to be found in the northern façade of the great eastern court of the Dar-el-Bahar palace, which is a part of the palace of the Emirs, as well as in the south façade of the minaret of the mosque.

There are other north African monuments that recall this early Mesopotamian style. In this way it reached Mehdia, the port of Tunis, whose gates recall those of Raqqah.[1]

II

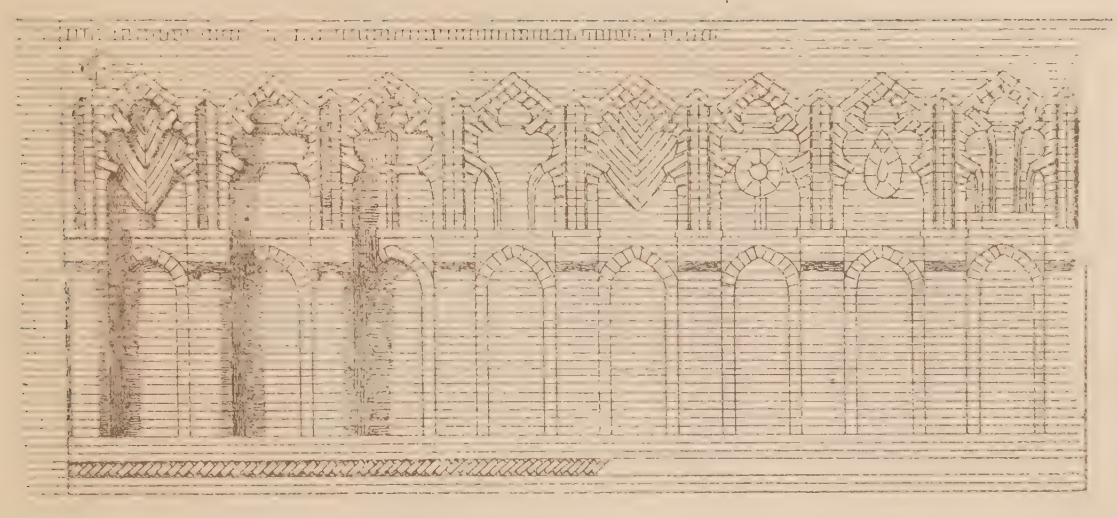
A final example of this complex phenomenon is the appearance at the western extreme of Moslem influence in the province of Léon in the heart of Spain, of a school called by the Spaniards *Mudéjar*, which has striking analogies with Byzantine churches.

The beginnings of this style are extremely simple, and of this first phase, which is the most interesting for our study, the earliest examples are found in the region of Sahagún, whence it spread towards Old Castile. The geography of this Mudéjar style has not been scientifically established, and at present we have no other data but that of Lampérez and Gómez-Moreno, who record it at León, Palencia, Valladolid, Ávila, and Segovia, the geographical center of the style. Later it spread through Salamanca and the rest of New Castile, where the characteristics that distinguish it from Romanesque became more strongly marked, and drifted sporadically towards Aragón and towards the newly conquered lands, such as the northern part of the province of Cáceres, in the vicinity of those places that made up the great *aljamas* or *morerías*.[2]

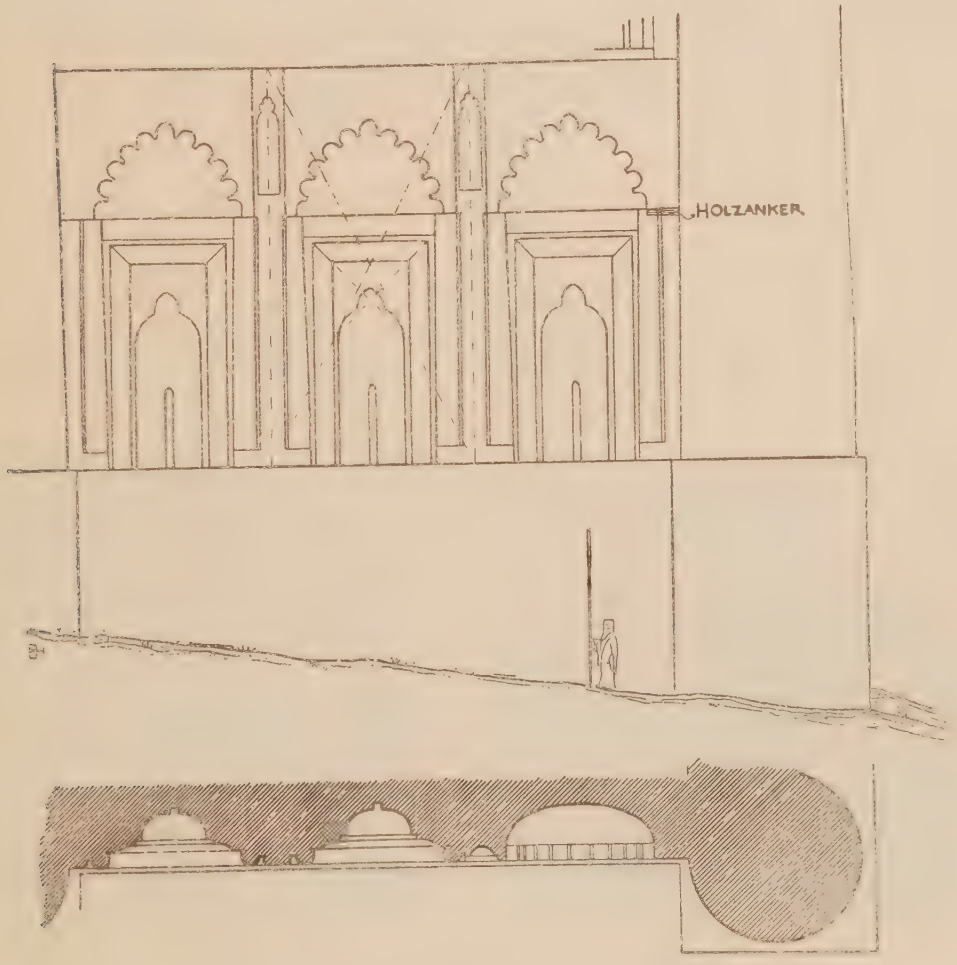
Mudéjar architecture is the mirror of the civilization of the land and of the epoch in which it flourished. Castile, although Christian, was then a country whose culture, in its most brilliant phases, belonged to that of Islam, by whose customs the kings and the people were influenced. Alfonso VI spent his

[1] de Beylié, *La Kalaa des Beni-el-Hammâd*, Paris, 1909; Georges Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman* (Paris, 1926), vol. I, p. 120.

[2] Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media* (Madrid, 1908), vol. I, pp. 535, 538, and 700; *Las iglesias románicas españolas de ladrillo*, in *Forma*, Barcelona, 1904, vol. I; Ramón Mélida, *Catálogo monumental de España, Provincia de Cáceres*, Madrid, 1924; G. G. King, *Mudéjár*, Bryn Mawr, 1927.



11. Raqqah. South-east Side. (Sarre und Herzfeld, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, Fig. 332)



12. Qaçr al-Ashig. (Sarre und Herzfeld, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, Fig. 31)

13. Qaçr el-Manâra of Qal'a of Benî-Hammâd (L. de Beylié, *La Kalaa de Benî-el-Hammâd*)

14. Saloniki. Ikicherif-Djami. (Gabriel Millet, *L'Ecole grecque*, Fig. 15)

15. Church of the Prophet Elias, near Geraki (*Ibid.*, Fig. 79)

boyhood in Toledo, for he was forced into exile by the persecution of his brother; and so, before he occupied the throne, he had received his education at the court of Hassan-Yahya or Al Mamun. The culture of the Toledan court was, for that matter, far more brilliant than that of Castile at Burgos, overrun as it was with rude warriors used to the hardships of the battlefield. It is not surprising that Alfonso should have numbered among his successive wives, who were more numerous than Western custom permits, Zaida, the famous daughter of the Moslem king of Seville.

Castilian towns had Moslem quarters where the conquered Moors dwelt in submission with their own religion, customs, and law, hedged in by rules and regulations of varying severity. In spite of the warnings of the Church on the subject of intercourse between Christians and these Mudéjar communities, the influence of the latter penetrated deeply into the life of the country. The scholars of the court and the artists were Moorish, as were the sumptuous stuffs, the jewels, the very buildings. Kings and vassals opened the doors of their homes to Moslem women, and adopted exotic clothes and manners. Forbidden to own land or to become soldiers, the Mudéjars monopolized the industrial and artistic phases of life. By the Mudéjar quarters there were often the ghettos, or quarters of the Jews, a people also skillful in the arts of building. The Jews, incessant travellers, were the transmitters of strange forms brought from foreign lands.[1] "The Castilians despised building, and employed foreigners and north Castilians for stone construction, and Moors for brick, for plaster, and for wood." [2] In the capital, Toledo, all the buildings which date from the end of the eleventh century are, with the sole exception of the cathedral, the work of Moslems, and form the style known as Mudéjar. As the population was made up of Christians, Jews, and Moslems, there was need of buildings for the three cults: "ce sont sans doute les mêmes hommes que élévèrent les monuments des trois cultes." [3] It was Mudéjar laborers who worked on important projects; temples and monasteries owned artist slaves acquired as the Christian conquest advanced.

Inscriptions and documents show that this artistic activity was developed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the era in which the principal Mudéjar centers came into being. Mudéjar monuments are the result of the convergence of diverse influences: their plan is the typically Romanesque one of a triple-apsed basilica, with a more or less denatured cupola placed over the crossing and crowned with a tower. The latter was sometimes displaced to surmount the choir itself, and placed in front of the main apse. The naves

[1] Antonio Ballesteros, *Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1920), vol. II.

[2] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Arte mudéjar toledano,* in the collection, *Las obras maestras de la arquitectura y de la decoración en España,* Madrid, 1916.

[3] Elie Lambert, *Tolède* (Paris, 1925), in the series *Les villes d'art célèbres.*

were roofed with wood while the transept and the apses were vaulted, a curious juxtaposition which had ancient precedents. Sometimes cut-stone masonry was mixed with brickwork, in which case two styles are contrasted: the Romanesque or Gothic art of the stone-cutter, and the Mudéjar art of the mason.

The Romanesque basilica with naves roofed with wood, and choir and transept vaulted, was more or less usual throughout the domains of Romanesque art. I have shown how basilicas with transept, cupola, and three apses were developed by adding the complex structure of the Byzantine vaulted sanctuary to the naves of the Romanesque basilica, vaulted in the various ways in use before the middle of the eleventh century. The same thing happened in the more unusual cases where there were three wooden-roofed naves.[1] This hybrid type, which had fallen into disuse in the adjacent Romanesque schools, was that adopted almost always in Mudéjar works.

In the question of materials, there were also surprising importations and revivals of archaic formulae. Toledo is a region where stone is abundant; the Cathedral, as well as the Renaissance Alcázar, is of cut stone, but the monuments that we are studying are uniformly built of brick and rubble, as in the buildings of Byzantium or of Saloniki.

The framework of these roofs retained extraordinary traces of archaism that contrast with the complex geometric knowledge shown in the detail, which is known to us not only from an examination of the monuments themselves, but also from a description written by those who practised with their own hands this art that survived its own era to linger on until the seventeenth century. The treatise by Diego Lopez de Arenas[2] describes that marvellous Mudéjar woodwork, wrought like a masterpiece of the cabinet maker, where dominance of the Moorish interlace proclaims the race of the builders. In the buildings there is none of the triangular frame construction of Roman origin, but rather a sort of piling up of wood that dates from the early times when the art of building in stone, and that of constructing in wood, had not yet differentiated their methods.

Round cupolas were adapted to square openings by means of pendentives, but they were strengthened by series of arches, in accordance with the Moslem tradition of Cordova and Toledo: sometimes four arches that reduce the diameter of the cupola so that afterwards, by new arches, the square may be converted into an octagon; sometimes eight arches which make an octagon that, by prolonging its sides, forms the typical moslem star. The individual elements of Moorish origin show the harmony of their forms, which constantly reveal a Mohammedan influence impressed on the whole by means of detail;

[1] Puig i Cadafalch, *Le Premier Art Roman* (Paris, 1928), chap. IV.

[2] *Compendio del arte de carpintería de lo blanco y tratado de alarifes*, Sevilla, 1633.

16. Galliano di Cantù (Como). S. Vicenzo. (Porter, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 99, Fig. 1)

17. Acqui. S. Pietro. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 4, Fig. 2)

18. Corbera (Barcelona). Sant. Pons. (Byne phot.)

an *aljamiada* architecture that expresses, as Lampérez has said,[1] Christian ideas with Mohammedan words (forms).

The interior of the apses was decorated with paintings in the Byzantine tradition, with the Pantocratos among the four Evangelists, above the customary rows of saints. They were often labeled with Arabic inscriptions, and into them there filtered something of the profuse and often violent imagery found in the Christian manuscripts of Arabic Spain.

But where Byzantine forms burst on us in all their splendor, is in the exterior decoration, principally that of those apses ornamented with several stories of arcades, as in the Constantinople churches of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

In Mudéjar architecture, the selection of the decorative component parts is the opposite of that of the first Romanesque style.

Only in an occasional building for military purposes did they keep the upper frieze of niches decorating the cornice as in Romanesque monuments; examples of this may be found in the portal of the castle at Coca, and in the Puerta del Sol at Toledo. The most common composition was that of great arcades covering the entire height of apses, as in some very few western churches. In those that seem to be the oldest, the arcades are single, as in the Lombard monuments, or often double, as in the monuments of Byzantium, and there would be no difference between them if it were not for the *arrabá* that enclosed the arcades, and if their plans were not rectangular, instead of being circular.

An analysis and comparison of this ornamentation is here of the greatest interest. First let us note how the niches of Constantinople lose their circular section, and become blind arcades, keeping the double projection,[2] recalling how, in the first Romanesque style, the double projection is generally lacking. The solution of the problem of a single order of arcades had already been found in Byzantine buildings where art, in proportion as it neared the Occident, had a strongly marked tendency towards simplicity. It is not difficult to make a comparative table of this decoration which extended throughout the entire Byzantine world, the whole geographic domain of the first Romanesque style, and the area covered by Mudéjar style. Such a table would show in a graphic manner the existence of analogies of style from one end of the Christian world to the other, the expansive force of Byzantine art, the great unity of the first Romanesque, and the value and importance of the Byzantine element in Mudéjar art. If we place side by side the Byzantine churches of Ikicherif-Djami (Fig. 14), of the Apostles at Saloniki,[3] of the Prophet Elias,

[1] Lampérez, *Arquitectura cristiana*, vol. I, p. 700.
[2] Puig i Cadafalch, *First Romanesque Style*, Fig. 12.
[3] Diehl, Le Tourneau, Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris, 1918), Pl. LXV.

near Geraki (Fig. 15),[1] or of Islamkoi near Istarki,[2] and the Romanesque churches of S. Vicenzo of Galliano (Fig. 16), S. Pietro of Acqui (Fig. 17) in Lombardy, Sant Pons de Corbera in Catalonia (Fig. 18), of Schonenerd (Fig. 19) in the Swiss canton of Solothurn,[3] of Andenelle (Fig. 20) in Brabant, in Belgium, and, last of all, the Mudéjar churches of La Lugareja of Arévalo (Fig. 21), San Tirso of Sahagún (Fig. 22), San Lorenzo of the same town (Fig. 23): the impression of artistic unity, in spite of differences of climate and of material, is extraordinary. The Byzantine churches, like the Mudéjar ones, are of brick and stone combined; the Romanesque are generally completely of the one material or the other.

There are differences and analogies of detail. Byzantine and Mudéjar churches continued the masonry of the walls in the voussures of the arches, while in the Romanesque churches the arches were built of bricks or bits of flagstone placed edgewise.

The Mudéjar style has more in common with the Byzantine than with the first Romanesque. For example, it retains the arcades in two orders which disappear in Romanesque, and often also the double or triple stories of arcades.

Let us recall yet another instance of striking analogies — those between all the Mudéjar apses and the façade of Firuzabad.[4]

In the first Romanesque style, the superposition of arcades became extremely rare. It is to be found in one church in Brabant, that of Xhignesse at Hancour (Fig. 27).[5] When the large arcades were changed into little blind arches upheld by corbels, there result double stories, as in some rare examples like the church of Ss. Felice e Fortunato at Vicenza, and in the cathedral of Trier.[6] In the Mudéjar school, arcades in two stories and even sometimes in three and four, abound, just as in the Byzantine school. Examples of two stories of niches that may be cited are: San Tirso of Sahagún (Fig. 22), the church at Villalpando (Zamora), San Eugenio at Toledo, San Lorenzo el Real at Toro, and that of Galisteo, in Cáceres. Those of three stories include San Salvador and San Andrés at Cuéllar (Segovia) (Fig. 24), San Lorenzo at Sahagún (Fig. 23), Santiago del Arrabal and San Bartolomeo at Toledo,[7] Santo Domingo at Alba de Tormes; while among those of more than three stories are San Francisco and San Esteban at Cuéllar, and Santa Leocadia at Toledo. One must not be too insistent, as all these types of architectural composition exist also in the Byzantine world, not only in the center of dissemination of the style, but also in its most distant ramifications. Thus, the forms with two orders of niches are most abundant in Constantinople, as, for instance, that

[1] Gabriel Millet, *L'Ecole grecque*, (Paris, 1916), in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, vol. XXVI, Fig. 79.
[2] Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatischer Denkmäler* (Leipzig, 1908), Pl. 3.
[3] Johann Rudolph Rahn, *Die mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmäler des Cantons Solothurn*, Fig. 124.
[4] Puig i Cadafalch, *First Romanesque Style*, Fig. 17.
[5] Lemaire, *op. cit.*, Fig. 20.
[6] Porter, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, Pl. 239, Fig. 4.
[7] Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, Lam. 8, 12.

19. Schönenwerd. Apse. (Johann R. Rahn, *Die Mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmäler des Cantons Solothurn*, p. 127)

20. Andenelle. (Raymond Lemaire, *Les origines du style gothique en Brabant*, Fig. 15)

21. Arévalo (Ávila). Santa María de la Lugareja (Forma, vol. I, p. 227)

of Kilissé-Djami.[1] The form had great popularity in northern and southern Italy, as at S. Fosca at Torcello [2] or at Rocella di Squillace.[3] Three stories of niches are found in Constantinople at Fétiye-Djami [4] and Gul-Djami, or the Virgin Pammacaristos.[5]

In the cornice, also, there are analogies and differences. The greatest simplicity is to be found in the Romanesque churches where the apses are crowned only by a band of typical geometric ornament made by a frieze of bricks set point out, which archaeologists commonly call a saw-tooth.[6] In Mudéjar apses there are, above this single or double band, corbels that hold up the overhang of the roof (Figs. 22, 23), while in Byzantine monuments there is the typical saw-tooth surmounted by other bands of triangular ornament forming a complicated cornice.[7]

It is interesting to note the persistence of this geometric decorative element. We have seen it in Persia, we have found it at Ravenna in the fifth century, and in the Romanesque works of the tenth and eleventh centuries; it adorns the oldest Moslem buildings, and, finally, it appears in the center of Spain in the Mudéjar churches of the thirteenth century.

Romanesque art in brick is what Lampérez called this first dawn of Mudéjar art, which is an Arabicized Byzantine art built in Christian lands by Moslem artists more or less Christianized. In buildings of later date, the arches took on the more usual Moslem forms: polylobed arches, horseshoe arches, and the *arrabá* predominated in the different stories of arcades. In reality, this art signifies the transmission of Byzantine decoration towards the West, later in time, but parallel in composition with that engendered by the first Romanesque style.

Mudéjar architecture is not a version in brick of the Romanesque architecture of the regions in the interior of Spain; neither is it a logical derivation of the Mozarabic architecture which preceded it in the same Castilian lands. To disprove the first hypothesis, it is enough to read in the most summary fashion the works of Lampérez, to be convinced that in the strictly Spanish regions there did not exist any Romanesque schools in which was dominant the type of decoration that afterwards characterized Mudéjar architecture. For the second hypothesis, it is sufficient to recall that the Mozarabic churches were plain on the outside, and that inside there never appeared any decoration of arches and niches. Nor is the Mudéjar architecture a development from the first Romanesque style, Lombard or Catalan. Although the

[1] Jean Ebersolt et Adolphe Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), Fig. 73 *bis*.
[2] Puig i Cadafalch, *First Romanesque Style*, Fig. 23.
[3] *Rasegna d'Arte*, 1903, p. 51.
[4] Charles Diehl, *Constantinople* (Paris, 1924), in the series *Les villes d'art célèbres*, p. 66.
[5] Puig i Cadafalch, *First Romanesque Style*, Fig. 22.
[6] *Ibid.*, Figs. 35 and 40.
[7] *Ibid.*, Figs. 22 and 23.

two styles have the same starting-point, they diverge in the matter of decoration. That may be proved by the facts that, along with the elements that might be common to the two schools, there exist in Mudéjar art diverse and numerous Arabic forms such as the *arrabá*, "qui est comme l'empreinte de l'Islam" [1] and that other forms more characteristically Romanesque, such as twin arcades, are lacking. The analogies between these two schools is to be explained by the fact of their common source, and the variations by the different routes followed in their transmission. Two currents, one travelling towards the north of the Mediterranean, the other going by the south, lead to analogous but highly individual solutions.

There are two differences between the two styles, Mudéjar and Romanesque: the vehicle, Moslem in the first instance, Christian, Lombard, Provençal, in the second; and the material in which they were expressed: in the Mudéjar architecture of the interior of Spain, Byzantine art was developed in bricks and rubble, as in the mother country, even when stone was the current building material of the region; Byzantine art was translated into stone in Liguria, in Provence, and in Catalonia. In the case of the first Romanesque style, it was not a question of copying, but of translating an adaptation; in the case of Mudéjar style, it was a copy into which there sometimes escaped single words and even whole sentences from the language of the translator.

With the transmission of these forms into the Mudéjar style, the geographic cycle closes, and the northern and southern currents meet in the extreme west of Mediterranean lands. Perhaps it is not quite exact to say that they meet — a territorial liaison is lacking, for the land where Mudéjar art flourished had no contact whatever with those where the first Romanesque style was cultivated; the contact in point of time is also lacking. When Mudéjar art was born, the first Romanesque style had disappeared from the southern countries, and, if it survived at all, it was in the northern countries by the Rhine. The ring is not, properly speaking, a ring at all; it resembles, rather, the kind of ornament that the Romans called *torquis*, with which women, from the earliest metal age, outlined the rounded contour of their arms with a spiral of gold or of bronze: the ring is never closed, either in time or in place.

III

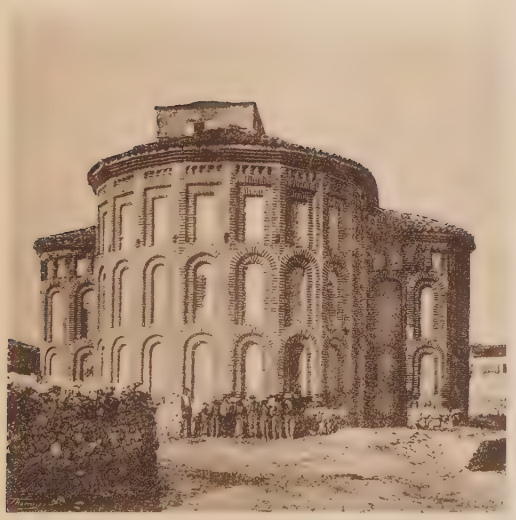
The artistic phenomenon which we have just seen in the West will be better understood if we study another analogy that took shape in the distant lands of Rumania, in ancient Moldavia [2] where the art of Constantinople was reflected in an architectural school that lived to the end of the eighteenth cen-

[1] Emile Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[2] The ancient boundaries of Moldavia included Bukowina, which was annexed by the Austrians in 1775, and Bessarabia, taken by the Russians in 1812.

22. Sahagún. San Tirso. (Winocio phot.)

23. Sahagún. San Lorenzo. (Winocio phot.)



24. Cuéllar (Segovia). San Andrés. (Forma, vol. I, p. 240)

25. Toledo. Cristo de la Vega. (M. Gómez-Moreno, *Arte mudéjar toledano*, Pl. 10)

26. Santa Maira a Fagna. (Mario Salmi, in *Bolletino d'Arte*, VIII (1914), p. 120)

27. Hancour. Church of Xhignesse. (Lemaire, *Op. cit.*, Fig. 20)

28. Voronet. (N. Iorga, G. Bals, *Histoire de l'art roumain ancien*, p. 334)

29. Păpaŭti. St. Nicolas. (G. Bals, *Bisericila lui Stefan cel mare, in Bouletinul Comisioni monumentelor istorico*, Fig. 48)

tury. Among all the schools influenced by Byzantine art, this is the one in which the evolution of wall decoration developed most methodically.

About 1360 Moldavia, till then almost deserted, was colonized by the Rumanians of Transylvania, who began to build their first churches in wood. These were soon replaced by the works we are to study, works begun in the third quarter of the fourteenth century and developed mainly during the reign of Stephen the Great. The style remained remarkably unchanged until the beginning of the sixteenth century, and continued with some modifications to more modern times.

In the Moldavian school there is a convergence of diverse traditions from the most ancient sources. The usual ground plan is that of a cross with one apse to the east, and two others at the ends of the transept, the traditional form of the monastery at Mt. Athos, whence came the apostles who brought Christianity to Rumania. The holy mysteries of the Mass were celebrated in the main apse, shut off by the *iconostasis;* at each side was a small niche one of which served as *prothesis*, the other as *diaconicon.* The transept and the two chapels at the extreme ends of its arms served as *naos* for the clergy: this *naos* was often prolonged and preceded by the *pronaos* where the faithful sat in order, according to their rank, as the Eastern liturgy had provided; the *pronaos* was in its turn preceded by the *narthex* and sometimes by an exterior portico, the *exonarthex.*

The structure was roofed in a way to suggest very interesting problems. The rectangular *naos* was squared by means of arches of greater or less width; from the square it was changed into a circle by pendentives. Above this circle rose a short, cylindrical drum, on which four other arches, at an angle of forty-five degrees to the axis of the church, marked a new square. This square served as a base for another construction of pendentives, and finally for a cupola still smaller in diameter.

It is evident that the Moldavian church has elements that did not come from Byzantine art, and whose origin must be looked for in Moslem Persia, where similar complications of arches and vaults were invented.

The exterior covering was also modified. A cold climate demands a roof with a steep pitch. Each unit of any edifice therefore needed a separate one, as in the mediaeval palaces and castles of northern France, in order not to exaggerate the height. The steep pitch demanded also a greater elevation of the drum of the cupola. Thus the Byzantine style was adapted in a land of cold winters; so we see it in the models of churches which are carried in the hands of donor princes painted in more than life size in the interior of the churches.

In this ensemble, built of brick, there appear, strangely enough, plinths, portals, and windows of Gothic outline and of materials like those used in

Western countries in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is possible that in the Moldavian style there occurred something analogous to what happened in the Mudéjar: the brick and rubble work was done by workmen from Byzantine countries, while the stone was cut by Gallic masons.

A Byzantine polychromy of complicated iconography covers them completely, inside and out. But in these churches, that seem huge polychrome reliquaries placed in the center of monastic cloisters, it is the architectural exterior decoration, mainly in the apses, that has special connection with the subject we are studying.

In the outer walls of the apses we find, as in so many other places of the Byzantine world, a double story of niches used as ornament, lessening the height of the upper story, prolonging those of the lower story. The logical sequence of derivations which is almost wholly lacking in Milan and in the Western school, is to be found represented many times in Moldavia. In the West, as we have said, the decoration of Byzantine apses develops along two different lines, becoming apses decorated, on the one hand, with blind windows in the upper part, and on the other, with great arcades. In Rumania the two stories of niches and arcades are carefully maintained. The two stories of arcades in developing give rise to different solutions, some of which coincide with Occidental ones; as for example when each upper arcade is cut in two, as in the Catalan churches. This is exemplified in the oldest churches of Voronet, 1488 (Fig. 28), Milisăuti,[1] Tazlău,[2] Moldovita.[3]

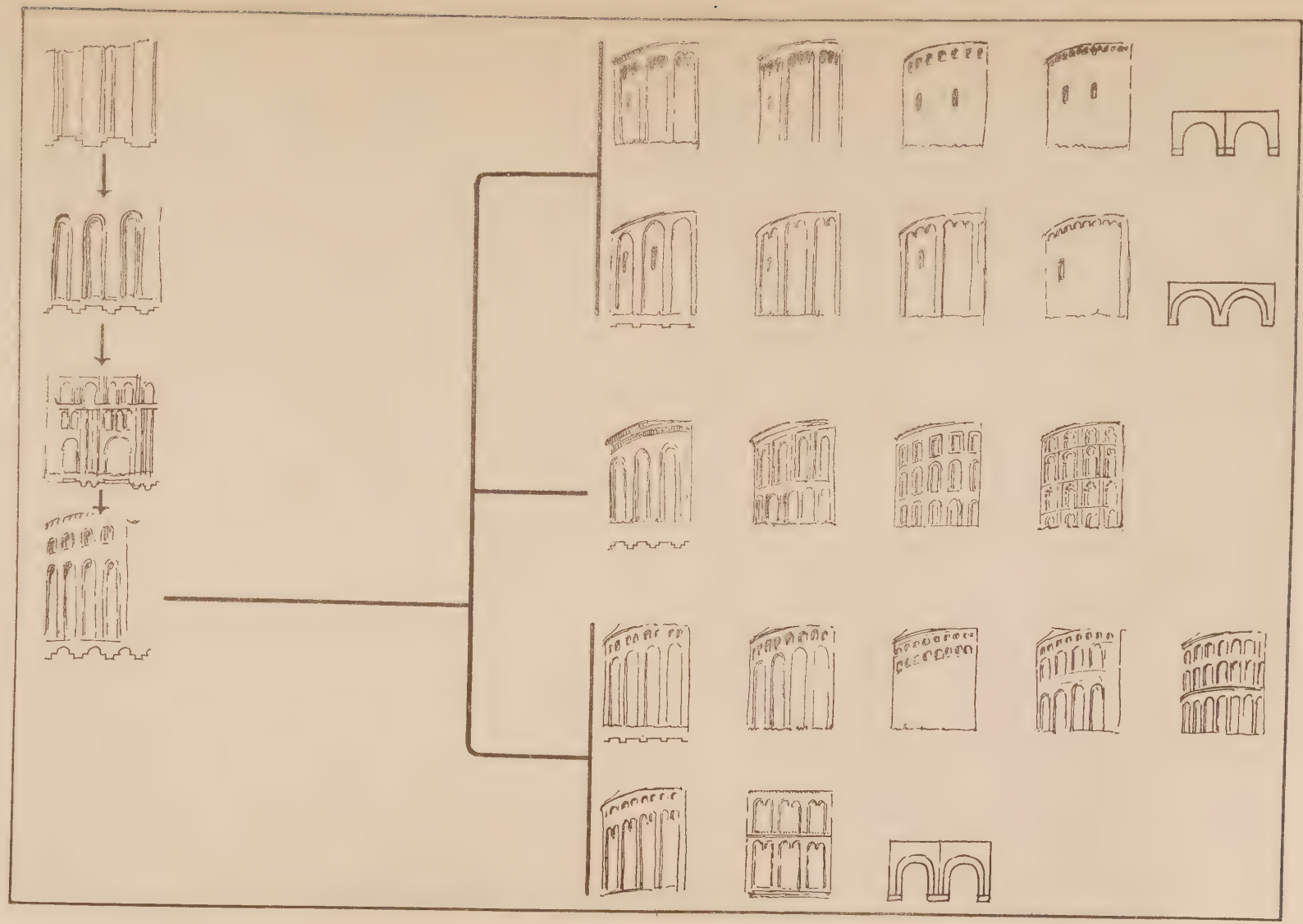
These early forms continued to be used, for the law of the permanence of established forms held sway in Moldavia. Of this an outstanding example may be found at Bălinesti, built at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

But soon there appeared symptoms of the baroque, in forgetfulness of the constructive origin of these artistic forms, and the blind windows of the upper story emerge from the bay between the pillars of the lower arcades, as at Humor [4] and as in the church at Milisăuti.[5]

Baroque qualities became more accentuated, the number of stories was increased to three as the upper ones degenerated into a row of small niches, almost ornamental, that recall the cornices of the Persian sepulchres of Amol [6] at Neamtzu. Examples of this are found at St. Nicolau of Dorotzoni and St. Elies,[7] St. Demetri of Succeada; and occasionally there was a fourth story, for example, at St. Nicolas of Jassy,[8] 1492–1497. As in Lombard architecture, sometimes the lower story of arcades was omitted, as at Baia.[9]

Again as in the Lombard school, there came about the alternate omission

[1] G. Bals, *Bisercile lui Stefan cel Mare*, in *Buletinul Comisiunii monumentelor istorice* (Bucuresti, 1925), Fig. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, Fig. 92.
[3] Iorga et Bals, *L'art roumain* (Paris, 1922), p. 346.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 387.
[5] Bals, *Bisercile lui Stefan cel Mare*, Fig. 24.
[6] Diez, *op. cit.*, Figs. 98 and 99.
[7] Bals, *Bisercile lui Stefan cel Mare*, Fig. 27.
[8] *Ibid.*, Fig. 72.
[9] *Ibid.*, Fig. 7.



30. Diagram comparing the ornament used in first Romanesque, Mudéjar, and Moldavian architecture

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of pillars upheld by corbels, as at Păpăuti (Botosani) 1496 [1] and in the masonry church of the monastery of Dintr' un Lemn or in the exterior of the drum of Sucevita [2] or at St. George d'Hărlău,[3] and St. Nicolas of Păpăuti (Fig. 29).

Generally this system of decoration appeared without the projections that accompanied it at Constantinople, and which, as a heritage from Persia, were transmitted to the West; but, as though to show its origin, the projections are there occasionally. So also this characteristic projection was used to outline the blind arcades just as was done, by strange coincidence, in Syria, in Anatolia, and in the western parts of the Mediterranean,[4] as well as at Pubna,[5] at Mirăuti,[6] at the monastery of Galata,[7] and at Dintr' un Lemn.

The parallels between the artistic phenomena that occurred in the area covered by the first Romanesque style, in the Mudéjar style, and in Moldavia, is extraordinary, without allowing the thought of any influence, direct or indirect, from one school on the other. In the fifteenth century, the West built along Gothic lines. The only forms that it could transmit to Rumania were those of the portals and windows, or an occasional Gothic vault.

[1] Bals, *Bisericile lui Stefan cel Mare*, Fig. 49. [2] *Ibid.*, Fig. 249.
[3] *Ibid.*, Fig. 4. [4] Puig i Cadafalch, *First Romanesque Style*, Fig. 40.
[5] Bals, *Bisericile lui Stefan cel Mare*, Figs. 216, 217.
[6] *Ibid.*, Fig. 249. [7] *Ibid.*, Fig. 253.

HELL IN THE FLORENTINE BAPTISTERY MOSAIC AND IN GIOTTO'S PADUAN FRESCO

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1. Florence. Baptistery. Detail of the Mosaic. (Alinari phot.)

HELL IN THE FLORENTINE BAPTISTERY MOSAIC AND IN GIOTTO'S PADUAN FRESCO

By EDWARD FRANCIS ROTHSCHILD and ERNEST HATCH WILKINS

It has been noted that the representation of Hell in the fresco of Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua has certain analogies to the treatment of the theme in the Florentine Baptistery.[1] It remains to be shown that the similarities in the two monuments are so many and so significant as to indicate that Giotto's conception of Hell was directly inspired in many of its details by the representation at Florence.[2]

It is hardly necessary to insist upon the eminent availability of a prominently placed mosaic in the Florentine *bel San Giovanni* as a natural source of inspiration for a Florentine artist. Its location in the most popular ecclesiastical building in Florence, and the fact that it was one of the exceedingly few monumental expressions of pictorial art in Florence in the thirteenth century, afford conclusive evidence that a painter of Florence must have seen it repeatedly, and that presumably he must have been greatly impressed by its content.[3]

The significant analogies suggested by previous authors relate primarily to the figure of Lucifer and to the representation of a sinner being roasted on a spit.[4] We shall next review these analogies in detail.

The conception of Lucifer (Fig. 1, F–I 1–6; Fig. 2, H–I 1–4) is perhaps the most striking point of coincidence in the two monuments. In each instance the figure has the general aspect of a bestialized anthropomorphic giant. From

[1] R. van Marle, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de Giotto et de Duccio* (Strassburg, 1920), p. 46, speaks of "l'Enfer représenté de la même manière que le fit Giotto," and says that "la grande figure de Satan est tout-à-fait identique." A. Foratti, *Il giudizio universale di Giotto in Padova*, in *Bollettino d'Arte*, Ser. II, I (1921–1922), 49–66, recognizes the similarity of the two monuments, making specific note of the general resemblances in the figure of Lucifer and of the fact that each representation shows a figure being roasted on the spit. A. Bassermann, *Dantes Spuren in Italien* (Heidelberg, 1897), p. 210, recognizes the general similarity of the two monuments; but refers to the Florentine mosaic in such a way as to indicate that he thinks it later than the fresco: "Sie hat etwas Giotteskes und erinnert in der Auffassung stark an das Weltgerichtsbild in Padua."

[2] Documentary and stylistic evidence indicates that the mosaic was begun after the year 1225 and completed before the end of the thirteenth century, and that the fresco was painted in 1304–5 or very soon thereafter. On the date of the mosaic see A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana* (Milan, 1907), vol. V, pp. 217–239, and van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1923), vol. I, pp. 262–270. On the date of the fresco see F. J. Mather, Jr., *A History of Italian Painting* (New York, 1923), note 7 to p. 19 on pp. 474–475, and van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools*, vol. IV, 1924, pp. 48–49.

[3] It is highly probable that this mosaic (and others in the Baptistery) entered into the formation of some of Dante's conceptions of scenes and figures in his otherworld: see E. H. Wilkins, "Dante and the Mosaics of his *bel San Giovanni*," in *Speculum*, II (1927), pp. 1–10.

[4] See note 1.

each of the heads grow bovine horns, and from the ears protrude serpents, each holding in its mouth a sinner whose head and arms are downward and feet upward. The outlines of the central mouth are very similar, and in each case the central mouth closes upon the sinner's waist. The lower body and the legs are pendent, the hairy beard of Lucifer forming a dark background to the nude flesh.[1]

The position of the arms is similar in the two cases, and in each case each hand grasps a sinner — rather casually at Florence, in a somewhat more gymnastically Cyclopean manner at Padua. Lucifer in each instance is seated upon two serpents which hold sinners in their mouths, and his feet are poised upon sinners grovelling below.

The most striking divergence in a series of closely followed details is that the Lucifer of Padua has become more hairy and corpulent, and has talons for feet. It is interesting to note that the bodily hair and the talons, along with certain items of resemblance in other parts of the composition, may be found in the pulpits of Niccolò and Giovanni Pisano.[2]

The fact that each representation shows a figure being roasted on a spit (Fig. 1, J–L 1–2; Fig. 2, J–K 6) has been mentioned by Foratti.[3] One might further point out the compelling similarity in the attitude of the demon who revolves the spit. Body, head, arms and legs have a thoroughgoing congruity in position and office.

[1] A review of possible literary sources for the many-mouthed monster is given by A. Moschetti, *La Cappella degli Scrovegni e gli affreschi di Giotto in essa dipinti* (Florence, 1904), pp. 100–104. A fresco, now destroyed, containing a Satan *con più bocche* existed in the middle of the 14th century on the façade of the church of San Gallo in Florence: see *Decameron*, VIII, 9, and Francesco Sansovino's comment thereon in his *Dichiaratione di tutti i vocaboli . . . che nel . . . Decamerone si trovano* (Venice, 1546), reported in D. M. Manni, *Istoria del Decamerone di Giovanni Boccaccio* (Florence, 1742), pp. 515–516. In view of the general dearth of frescos in Florence before 1300 and their multiplication thereafter, the chances are that this fresco was later than Giotto's at Padua.

[2] Recognizing the relative restraint of the solid material of stone used on a comparatively small scale, in contrast to the freedom which the artist was allowed in the composition of either mosaic or fresco, we find similarities which suggest that the Pisano pulpits are related to the Baptistery mosaic and to the Paduan fresco. (We disregard the pulpit of Giovanni at Pisa, since it postdates the Paduan fresco.)

Lucifer in each instance has serpents proceeding from his head to torment sinners. For obvious reasons they cannot hold sinners in their mouths as in the pictorial treatments. Their hands and feet also molest sinners in a similarly restricted way.

A demon carrying a sinner to the Hell-mouth is prominent in the Pisa and Siena pulpits of Niccolò. The serpent consuming the arm of a sinner in the Siena pulpit recalls the same group in Florence (Fig. 1, C–D 1). The serpents of Pisa and Siena have each one large tooth on each jaw like the largest serpents of Florence. There is a little lizard in the Pisan pulpit (at the knee of the arm-consuming demon in the lower right corner) reminiscent of the lizards at Florence. There is a fringe of fire in the lower right of the Siena panel. The Pisano Hells admit bishops and monks and at Siena a royal figure appears. A royal figure at Pistoia is among the supplicants at the left. The angels by the cross at Siena suggest the garments of the Paduan angels.

Perhaps the most significant analogies are between the Pistoia panel and the Paduan fresco, notably the type of cross beneath the feet of Christ, the demon receiving a sinner just above the head of the Pistoian Satan (compare Fig. 2, E 8), and the serpent emerging from the seat of Lucifer. In each instance the analogy is direct and seems to suggest that particularly the Pistoian pulpit panel supplemented the Florentine mosaic as a source of the Paduan fresco.

[3] See note 1 to p. 31.

2. Padua. Arena Chapel. Detail of the Fresco of the Last Judgment. (Alinari phot.)

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In addition to the foregoing analogies there are many others which have not previously been pointed out.

Demons carrying sinners slung over their shoulders are represented very similarly in the two monuments (Fig. 1, D 5–6 and D–E 4–5; Fig. 2, E 2 and F 3). The sinners have their heads and arms down in front, their feet to the rear and their backs uppermost. In one instance in each of the monuments the sinner is being carried toward a pit into which he is to be thrown (Fig. 1, D 5–6; Fig. 2, E 2). The same theme is illustrated at two other points of the Florentine mosaic (Fig. 1, J 5–6 and L 4–5), but the sinners are carried in a different attitude.

The actual deposition of sinners in pits is represented in precisely parallel ways in the two monuments. The demon of Florence slides a sinner off his shoulders into the yawning crater (Fig. 1, E–F 5–6), while a group at Padua provides but slight variation to the same action (Fig. 2, L 2). In the latter representation the hurtling figure immediately to the right (Fig. 2, L 2) which is destined for the same pit is apparently a denuded reproduction of a hurtling figure at Florence (Fig. 1, A 2–3). Superimposed they would be practically congruous. Legs are in profile, bent and askew. Bodies, heads and arms give rear view and the same positions. Their similarity is incontestable.

The hanging figure of Judas occupies a prominent position in the Baptistery picturization (Fig. 1, N 1–3), and is there clearly identified by the only inscription which appears in the Hell. At Padua an isolated hanging figure (Fig. 2, E 3–4) evidently represents Judas also, since the iconographical tradition of the disembowelment of the arch-traitor has been observed.

A unique figure at Florence is the demon blowing his horn (Fig. 1, J–K 6). His counterparts at Padua occur in two portions of the chaotic falling mass in the midst of the stream of fire (Fig. 2, E 7 and J 8). The resemblance in the attitude of the demons and the type of horn is insistent.

The saurians of the mosaic, which torment the sinners already snared by the serpents proceeding from the seat of Lucifer by fastening themselves to their backs and biting them (Fig. 1, E 2–3 and J 2–3) have a brother reptile in the beast which from a similar position bites the neck of a female sinner at Padua (Fig. 2, I 4).

The same sinners at Florence are further molested by similar lizards who bite them between the legs (Fig. 1, E 2, I 1–2), while at Padua a sinner poised reclining on the porcupine bristles of one of the large serpents is bitten between the legs by a similar reptile (Fig. 2, J 2).

A slight, though definite, analogy may be observed in the presence of a two-pronged fork with its tines curved or hooked. It is used in Florence to rake the fire (Fig. 1, L 1), and in Padua to drag an apparently stubborn female sinner to the lower depths (Fig. 2, D 4).

Among the individual demons there are a few whose offices in the two monuments display an arresting similarity. At Florence (Fig. 1, H–I 1–2) a demon appears molesting a sinner from the rear in a crouching position. His counterpart at Padua (Fig. 2, F 6) shows a similar concern with the sinner's hindquarter. Another demon at Florence (Fig. 1, K–L 1–2) holds aloft a ladle from which he pours some liquid substance. The Paduan demon (Fig. 2, K 6) directs the contents of his ladle toward the head of a reclining sinner whom he straddles. One of the most intriguing of the Florentine horde is an obsequious demon (Fig. 1, D–E 2–3) who graciously welcomes a new arrival while a black-robed monk with pointed hood stands closely by. At Padua a demon in markedly similar attitude (Fig. 2, D–E 3) attends the entry of a black-robed monk with pointed hood.

Close by the scenes just mentioned one finds in each of the monuments the representatives of royalty (Fig. 1, C 4; Fig. 2, D 2), the Florentine crowned and the Paduan with crown and ermine stole. A bishop, also, is evident in each scene. At Florence (Fig. 1, D 2) he is recognized by the pallium, while at Padua (Fig. 2, F 2) he is nude but wears a mitre, and recalls his earthly office by blessing a kneeling sinner whose hand has just left the purse which the bishop holds. A demon's shoulders serve as the episcopal throne.

The treatment of demons as a whole is worth consideration. In addition to the specific analogies in single figures and in office already noted, there is observable a distinct kinship between the demons of Florence and those of Padua in the prevalent type.

It is not necessary to point out numerous specific instances, which the reader can easily multiply — two figures, one from each of the monuments, will serve to illustrate the comparison. At Florence the demon (Fig. 1, L 6) who carries the head of a sinner molested by a huge coiled serpent will serve well, as his head is clearly silhouetted against the plain background. At Padua the type is fairly clear in the case of the demon, already mentioned (Fig. 2, D–E 3), who attends the black-robed and hooded monk.

Although the Paduan demons are hairy and for the most part have talons for feet, and bushy tails, their form is, in general, of human proportions and attributes, and their heads particularly recall the Florentine type. The hair of the head is bushy and stands up in pompadour fashion; the nose is small but pointed, and the beard is bushy and tapering.

There are, thus, a great many respects in which the mosaic and the fresco present demonstrable similarities. These similarities, together with the antecedent probability that Giotto was well acquainted with the Florentine mosaic, warrant the conclusion that when working on the Padua fresco he followed in fact the obvious course of basing his conception of Hell, as a

whole and in many of its details, upon the striking representation of Hell in the Baptistery of his native city.

Such an instance as this provides an interesting commentary on the history of art. Giotto, at the beginning of a humanistic movement concerned with the rediscovery of material reality, has appropriated elements from a monument designed in the style of Byzantine conventions. While he is influenced by certain elements of the rejected language of Byzantine art, his criticism of the Byzantine style is everywhere implicit. But the appropriation of parts of the Byzantine vocabulary has partly colored the idiom of Giotto in this conception, and we feel immediately the differences between the Hell of the Last Judgment and the typical architectonic style of Giotto in the other representations of the Paduan chapel.

THE SFORZA TRIPTYCH

1. Brussels. Royal Museum. The Sforza Triptych

THE SFORZA TRIPTYCH

By CATHERINE W. PIERCE

I HAVE been amusing myself lately by playing with the Sforza triptych of the Brussels Museum. My interest in it was aroused by the fact that in studying northern influences in Italian painting, I found that several critics had at one time suggested that this little altarpiece had been done by an Italian who had studied in Flanders. So I began to read about it in Brussels where the Royal Library is but a step from the picture itself.

The earlier critics had taken it for granted that the personages represented in this devotional picture were the Milanese Sforzas. The coat of arms so richly set forth at one side, blue shield and golden lion grasping the quince, is the Sforza emblem. Reinach in 1904 said that these were Francesco Sforza, his wife Bianca Visconti and their son Galeazzo.[1] The fact that the painting seemed of Roger van der Weyden's school suggested the connection known to have existed between Milan and Brussels when the Sforzas sent their court painter Zanetto Bugatto as a student to Roger, and it was a pleasant theory that this was one of the works resulting in some way from the connection, done either in the north, or after 1463 when Zanetto returned to Italy.[2] As he went north late in 1460 a definite limit was set before which he could not have accomplished so perfectly Flemish a piece of work.

I think a good deal of the desire to attach this work to Zanetto was due to the fact that the information about him had recently been made available, and, no painting of his being known, it was a challenge to find something suitable. In 1911 and 1912 Malaguzzi-Valeri published articles to prove that the faces of the people were not those of the Milanese lords and that there was no Italian influence in feature, costume, or landscape and that Zanetto was a much weaker painter than the author of the Brussels triptych.[3]

Almost anyone would agree that Zanetto must have been a lesser light but he pushed too far in limiting Zanetto to the type of paintings he used in illustration of his article. Zanetto had won the approbation of the Sforzas to such a degree that he did their portraits before his visit north, Francesco choosing him to do the portrait of his daughter Ippolita in August, 1460. Galeazzo had him paint his bride-to-be, Bona of Savoy, sending him to France for that purpose [4] and saying of him that he made "portraits after

[1] S. Reinach, *Chronique des Arts*, 1904, p. 226.
[2] P. Durrieu, *Chronique des Arts*, 1904, p. 231.
[3] F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Rass. d'Arte*, 1911, p. 193; *ibid.*, 1912, p. 48.
[4] F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Pittori Lombardi del Quattrocento* (Milano, 1902), p. 125.

nature with a singular perfection." [1] After the painter's death in 1476 the duke tried to get Antonello da Messina to fill his place, no Milanese evidently satisfying the standard to which he had been accustomed.

There are other facts than the presumed inability of the artist that would preclude our accepting Zanetto as the painter. In the first place, if these are the Sforzas of Milan by Zanetto in 1463 their ages can definitely be given: Francesco was sixty-two, Bianca Maria thirty-nine, Galeazzo nineteen, which agrees with their appearance not at all. If they were the Milanese rulers, would not the Visconti arms have been used, since Francesco had adopted them in place of his own the more to strengthen his weak claims to Milan? Since the painting does not seem to have been done by Zanetto in or after 1463, could it be that Roger, who probably went through Milan in 1450, had done the Visconti-Sforzas? This supposition is thrown out by the age of Galeazzo who was then but six years old.

The branch of the family that did carry the Sforza arms without change was that of Pesaro, as Mesnil has shown in the work already quoted. He thinks that the warrior is Alessandro Sforza to whom Pesaro was given by purchase in 1445. The other figures he names as Alessandro's children, Battista who married Federigo da Montefeltro in 1460 and her brother Costanzo. Mesnil thinks that they were painted just before Battista's marriage when her father was fifty-one, she fourteen, and Costanzo thirteen. There is just a possibility that the ages would fit, but later evidence will show that this attribution is untenable.

Conway [2] accepts the donors as the Visconti-Sforzas in about 1460–62. It is a gallant gentleman who would think that a *Flemish* painter (for he places the source in Roger's studio) could portray an Italian lady of thirty-eight years who had had seven children as this frail girl. From other portraits of the time we know that Bianca Maria was fat in 1462 and Francesco bald.

The latest of the historians dealing with Flemish painting, Friedländer, accepts the Milanese family and puts the date at 1460 though he thinks that it is a school piece.[3]

The various editions of the Brussels catalogue have swung from Memling (1889) to Roger (1900), to Zanetto (1906), and back to Roger (1922), calling the painting "Calvary with the *presumed* portraits of Alessandro Sforza, his wife Costanza Varano and his brother-in-law Rodolfo." This is, I think, the correct attribution but it seems so certain from internal evidence, that the word *presumed* might well be dropped.

The reasons are these: the arms are those of the Sforza, but why are the red,

[1] J. Mesnil, *L'Art au nord et au sud des Alpes à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Bruxelles, 1911), p. 27.
[2] W. M. Conway, *The Van Eycks and Their Followers* (London, 1921), p. 145.
[3] M. J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei* (Berlin, 1924), vol. II, p. 121.

2. Brussels. Royal Museum. Wings of the Sforza Triptych

white and blue ribbons floating from the crest so conspicuously? They are not the colors that belong with the blue and gold. There is an intended significance in the blending of the colors in so prominent a way. The whole picture must stand for some event of importance to the family represented (as Mesnil unconsciously felt in assigning the marriage and departure of Battista from her father's house as the moment of its execution). This event is not the marriage of the daughter but of Alessandro and Costanza Varano, as I think the points will show quite convincingly.

The ages of the two people at the left are so close as to preclude any idea of their being mother and son. That of brother and sister is the only relationship probable. This is intimated by the boy's position beside the lady, showing that he is not in line of descent from Alessandro. If the marriage of the two Marchigiano houses is the event commemorated, Costanza's brother Rodolfo would be the representative of the Varani, since his father had been murdered and he was the only son. That the boy is a Varano must be the case for he wears a heraldic surcoat of Renaissance type with the arms of his family: the vair, a punning on the name itself.[1] The trimming of the coat is vermilion, which is the color of the crest of the family. These tabards were the descendants of the longer and half-sleeved coats that knights wore over their armour in mediaeval times and which were common in the Renaissance in the more abbreviated form which still displayed their arms. Only two of the surcoats survive, I believe, one hanging over the tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury, the other in the museum at Chartres.[2] They were padded and quilted in parallel lines, such a manner of sewing being suggested in this tabard.

The pattern, vair, is derived from the fur lining used in the robes of nobles. They were pieces of blue-gray squirrel skin which had the white fur of the belly left at the sides, so that when sewed together they made a repeat pattern of bell-shaped units. The tinctures are always argent and azure unless otherwise stated, when it is not the *vair plein*. There is but one other family in Italy that has the simple vair as far as I can find out. It is easy then to see why the Sforza crest is capped with the red, white and dull blue ribbons, the colors of the bride.[3]

The marriage of these two people took place in 1444, and Pesaro was handed over to Alessandro about six weeks later in January, 1445. The date of the picture must therefore be earlier by fifteen years than has hitherto been supposed. There is no reason for thinking that it would not have been done

[1] P. Litta, *Celebri famiglie italiane*, 1834, Pl. I of the Varano family.

[2] Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms* (London, 1920), vol. I, p. 153.

[3] I wish to thank Mr. Pierre la Rose of Cambridge, Mass., for having read this part of the article and for correcting my use of heraldic terms.

within the first year of their marriage. The presence of Rodolfo looks like the official giving-away of the bride and there is a certain transitoriness to his pose that modestly intimates that he is there for a definite and soon-ended office. Their ages in 1445 were: Alessandro thirty-six, Costanza seventeen, Rodolfo more than twelve. I have not been able to find the date of his birth, but it was probably before 1433 when his father was murdered. He looks about fourteen or fifteen. If the painting had been done a year later the baby, Battista Sforza, would have been included. Costanza died in 1447 at the birth of her son, and, as her husband promptly fell in love with one woman and married another within six months, there is no reason to think this was a memorial group — surely the children would have been in that.

Is there any internal evidence to support the earlier dating? Possibly, in the costumes. The type of clothes worn by the boy is like that in Domenico Veneziano's *Beheading of St. Lucy* in Berlin, like the portrait of Leonello d'Este by Oriolo in the National Gallery where the hair is cut in a similar manner, half of the ear being exposed. That fashion is also shown in many of the medals of Pisanello of men of the first half of the fifteenth century. The leafy trimming of Rodolfo's tabard is the kind that came into Italy at the beginning of the century, but was out of style before the end of the second quarter. It is seen in the drawings of Pisanello and in the Pippo Spagno.

The lady wears a dress hard to duplicate in Italian art. It was cut low in the back and the line came up under the throat in front. Perhaps the closest resemblance is in the Pisanello portrait of a d'Este princess in the Louvre, where there is also the same soft folding of a thin material laid between the edge of the dress and the neck. The high belt is of the same general placing but different in style, as are the sleeves. The fur-cuffed sleeves and belt are seen in Sassetta's Saracini Adoration, and Gentile da Fabriano uses the same sleeve in the London Quaratesi panel and the Heugel Coronation in Paris. Roger used it in several instances. Therefore the fashions, as far as one can judge from such slight indications, point to a date in the first half of the century.

The donor's portrait offers nothing in the way of costume, he being well encased in armour. From this something may be learned. In the first place it is a homogeneous suit of armour and not one assembled in the studio. Whoever painted it used a definite suit and one of early type. The suit most resembling this seems to be that worn by Sir Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, on his sepulchral monument in St. Mary's Church, Warwick.[1] This is a far cry from Pesaro. What is the connection? Only this: the earl had been in Italy in 1408 and, being a valiant fighter, had reason to know the worth of Milanese armour. (He is supposed to have given combat to one of the Malatesta family at this time.) When he returned to England he seems to have had

[1] C. A. Stothard, *The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain* (London, 1876), p. 164.

3. Bergamo. Accademia Carrara. St. Jerome
(Lochis Collection)

4. Brussels. Royal Museum.
The Sforza Triptych. Exterior
of wing in grisaille

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armour supplied from Italy. He died in 1439 and his tomb was completed in 1453. English antiquarians thought the armour was too perfect for 1439 but as Beauchamp's will ordered the monument made "after patterns," objections were laid aside, since the family probably would have provided one of Sir Richard's suits as the model.

This type approaches that made by the Missaglia family who were armourers in Milan. Of this family Petrajolo was the elder, working in Milan under the Visconti as early as 1408; Tomaso, his son, was important enough to be knighted in 1435 and to be exempted from taxes in 1450 by Sforza. The points of similarity between Beauchamp's and Alessandro's suits may readily be seen, the tassets strapped to the lowest of the lames at the front and sides being found in armour of the first half of the fifteenth century. The fact that the armour of Milan was used in all parts of Europe makes it doubtful whether the suit really belonged to Alessandro or whether the painter borrowed a day's posing of the ducal armour on his return to Flanders where he may have painted the picture from the sketches of the people involved.

Dr. Bashford Dean of the Metropolitan Museum writes me regarding the armour: "I should not be surprised if his armour turned out to be around 1440, and for various reasons, — notably the little cross-bar near the collar which is quite an early affair, also the shape and numerous plates of the *braconnière*. Whether the armour was made by a special person I do not know, for this type turned up constantly and in many places."

Two of the saints on the wings of the Sforza triptych would still have the same significance given them by M. Mesnil, whether the date of the dedication were 1445 or 1460. The St. Jerome would represent with St. Francis the interest Alessandro had in the Franciscans and their convent of St. Jerome, built by him in Pesaro. Of the other saints, Giovanni Battista seems to have been a Varano saint, Costanza naming her daughter Battista, who in turn named hers Giovanna. St. Catherine would have been properly invoked as the patroness of learning by one who was beyond her contemporaries in intellectual attainments at a time when learned ladies were found at every court. Alessandro would have appreciated St. Barbara as the protectress of warriors and from sudden death. This leaves the St. George and St. Bavon unexplained.

In commenting on the side panels one should note the sleeves worn by St. Bavon and his cloak. The sleeves are of the style that Hulin de Loo says was in vogue from 1410 to 1440.[1] The cloak is like that worn by Arnolfini in the Van Eyck group of 1434.

In view of the fact that everyone has felt a difference between the handling of the panel and the wings and many have given the latter to Memling, I

[1] G. Hulin de Loo, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. XV, p. 206.

think it is worth pointing out that the Virgin is close to Roger's Middelburg altar of 1446 and the two saints to the St. Catherine in Vienna and the Margaret and Apollonia in Berlin.

It has never been noted that Roger in his Beaune altar of 1443 painted two portraits which closely resemble the Francis and Bavon of the Sforza. These are the two who are sitting at the left of the Judge and have been named Philip the Good and Rolin, the donor of the altar. Conway deems the St. Bavon to be Philip the Good which is not without significance in placing these two works at a time not distant one from the other. If Roger had included the Duke in 1460–62 he would have been about sixty-five years old. His appearance is more that of a man of forty-nine, which he would have been in 1445.

It may seem stretching a point too far to wonder if the artist, never having seen Pesaro, tried to suggest it in the background with its water-encircled peninsulas. It is an entirely artificial grouping and of course was quite the usual arrangement in Flanders.

The earlier dating of the triptych would be of importance if we were sure that Roger did it. His only recorded visit to Italy took place in 1450. It could have hardly been one of five years' duration and therefore a previous trip may be inferred, for as early as 1445 Alessandro would not have been likely to send the portrait sketches north to a painter whom he had never seen. If this is not the work of Roger, then one of his assistants, close to him in the studio, must have been on a *wanderjahr* that went unnoticed.

The subject and arrangement (a Crucifixion with donors) fits in well with what we know of Roger's work, the Vienna Crucifixion with donors being dated 1440 by Friedländer.[1] This type of crucifixion with donors in unreduced proportions was usual in Flanders. In 1433 Philip the Good with Isabel his wife and the children was represented in such a composition.[2] All these later points do not prove that the painting *was* made in 1445 but they show that there is no contradictory evidence to that offered by the reading of the Varano coat and the heraldry.

Before leaving the subject I should like to connect with the Sforza triptych a panel in the Lochis Collection, Bergamo. This is a St. Jerome.[3] When I first saw it in 1924, I thought little of it except that it showed Flemish influence, but later when I saw the grisaille wings of the triptych in Brussels I realized that it was a direct copy but in color. Believing at that time that the Sforza had been done by Roger *about 1460* I hoped that the St. Jerome might play

[1] Friedländer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 30, 95, Pl. X.

[2] *Bulletin archaeologique du comité des travaux historiques*, 1907, p. 164.

[3] Bergamo, Lochis Collection, Accademia Carrara, No. 277. Panel 36×53 mm. I am especially indebted to Dr. Valentino Bernardi, director of the Accademia Carrara, for the photograph which he made for me of this painting.

some part in the Zanetto quest. If it were on oak and in oil it might be a practice panel of the young Italian in Roger's studio when the triptych was being made. But when I went to Bergamo last September I found that it was on soft wood and in tempera. A very meticulous copy in color, exact in every detail, it is not as fine as the grisaille original, though its colors are restrained and harmonious. When the proportions of the panel were changed, the copyist had to add landscape at the right and filched it from the central panel of the triptych, — between the cross and the St. John. Thus we know that it is the copy and not vice-versa.

The back of the panel is marbled with red and yellow to imitate jaspered stone in the manner of Flemish works. (I do not know whether the reverse of the Sforza is also treated so or not; neither do I know whether it is on oak. It would be helpful in determining whether the painting had been done in Italy or from sketches at home.)

Dr. Bernardi of the Accademia Carrara tells me that he considers the Bergamo St. Jerome Venetian: that the marbling is found in that school. Of course that is so, but it also appeared in central Italy very early and I see no reason for not thinking that either a Lombard or a Marchigiano painter had painted this early in the second half of the fifteenth century either in Pesaro or Milan.

There are few changes in the replica but one is rather amusing. A Flemish artist is expected to be realistic to a degree, yet the Brussels lion who holds out his paw to the saint to have the thorn drawn smirks with pleasure. The Italian one has his mouth open, teeth showing. Perhaps it is the Italian love of drama in the contrast between a calm and an agitated actor rather than a desire for realism that produced this change; for after all no one knows how the lion *did* behave.

ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE IN SOUTH SWEDEN

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1. Lund. Historical Museum.
Rune stone, ca. 1000

2. Gösslunda. Relief from Portal.
Eleventh Century

3. London. Tombstone from St. Paul's Cemetery, now in Cathedral Library.
(Whitehill phot.)

ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE IN SOUTH SWEDEN

By WILLIAM ANDERSON

I

The oldest stone sculpture that has been preserved to our times in Skåne (the southernmost province of Sweden which, during the Middle Ages and up to the year 1658, belonged to Denmark) appears on rune stones and tombstones. It is not sculpture, in the exact meaning of the word, but contour drawing with sunk outlines. An example of this runic technique, dating from the dawn of Christianity in Denmark, is found on the so-called Monument of Hunnestad (Fig. 1), of the beginning of the eleventh century. Characteristic of this art is the "quadruped," known through numerous Scandinavian monuments of the same time, and through the tombstone from St. Paul's cemetery in London (Fig. 3), which is considered to have been made by men from Skåne.[1] This is of importance, since Knut the Great, that zealous protector of the Cluniac movements, pilgrim to Rome, and contributor to the building of the cathedral of Chartres by Fulbert, was king at the same time of Anglo-Saxon northern England and of Denmark, and is regarded as the one who introduced the Benedictine rule in Denmark by importing English monks. In Skåne the early period of Christianity left two noteworthy examples of this lesser art in the shrines with ornamented bone plates, originally in the Bamberg cathedral, now in the National Museum of Munich, and in the so-called Cordula reliquary in the cathedral of Kammin in Pomerania (Fig. 5), which have been attributed to a workshop existing in Lund at the beginning of the eleventh century.[2] Traces of the same type of art are also found in churches in other parts of southern Sweden which were in close connection with Lund: in the province of Västergötland, a doorkeeper from the portal of the Gösslunda church (Fig. 2), and on the island of Öland, in the church at Repplinge.

It is almost a century before we can show any stone sculpture in the province of Skåne. About 1080, a cathedral had been begun in Lund, the extent of which has not yet been determined. Before it was completed, King Erik Ejegod had gone on a pilgrimage to Bari in Apulia; we know he was

[1] G. F. Browne, "*Scandinavian*" *or* "*Danish*" *Sculptured Stones Found in London*, in *Archaeological Journal* (London), vol. XLII, no. 166.

[2] E. Wrangel, *Två praktskrin från Skåne*, in *Historisk Tidskrift för Skåneland*, vol. VII, p. 296; and Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin, 1918), vol. II, p. 59 and Taf. LXV–LXIX.

there in 1098. On the way back, he obtained an archbishopric for himself from the pope. This was located at Lund (1099–1103); consequently it became necessary to make the cathedral larger. In 1123, the crypt with its high altar was dedicated (to St. John the Baptist and to all the patriarchs and prophets); in 1126, the northern altar in the crypt; in 1131, the southern altar (to St. Blaise and St. Giles); in 1145, the high altar and the one at the right in the main part of the church; and, in 1146, the one at the left. The western part with its two towers was completed during the following decades.

Erik Ejegod visited Bari when it was a popular pilgrimage city, and the disseminating centre of a magnificent architectural style.

It seems probable that the king, during his journey through Lombardy or while he was in Bari, assembled the troupe of *Magistri Comacini* necessary for the rebuilding of the cathedral. It is to be noted that the Lombard decorations in Lund show a close relationship to those of the cathedral at Modena. But, curiously enough, the latter is inspired by S. Niccola of Bari. The throne at Bari (1098) was probably the work of Master William of Modena, who was at the height of his activity at about 1100 to 1110. The construction of the cathedral at Modena began in 1099; the crypt was completed in 1106.[1] Classical motives are more abundant in Lund than in any other church outside of southern France. The ornamentation of rinceaux and animal figures (Figs. 4, 6–8) goes back to Milan, Pavia, and Como. In its ornamentation of classic character, Lund has much in common with the cathedral at Speyer; in the rinceaux, the vines, and the animal figures, with the cathedral of Mainz (Fig. 11). Mr. Wrangel has supposed that a master workman, probably trained at Modena, worked in the transept at Speyer and later in Lund,[2] while other sculptors from Milan and Pavia worked at Mainz and Lund. He therefore presupposes relation between the three cathedrals, but Lund is far richer in ornamentation than Mainz and Speyer together. Such pure Lombard features are not found elsewhere outside of Lombardy. Consider, for instance, the southern portal (Fig. 9), the round arches of which remind one of the lintels of the west portal of S. Ambrogio in Milan; while the arches of the northern portal (Fig. 10) have near parallels in the west portal of S. Michele, Pavia. The lion and the griffin (Figs. 12, 13) inside the portal, especially the griffin, recall Pavia, according to Wrangel. On the other hand, it seems to me that the tympanum scene with Samson overcoming the lion (Fig. 14), especially in so far as the hair and the beard of Samson are concerned, bears a strong resemblance to David in the west portal of Cremona (1107–1117).[3] P. Frankl[4] has recently expressed his agreement with the modern

[1] A. Kingsley Porter, *Spain or Toulouse?* in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. VII, p. 23.

[2] E. Wrangel, *Lunds domkyrkas konsthistoria* (Lund, 1923), p. 347.

[3] Porter, *op. cit.*, Fig. 28.

[4] Paul Frankl, in *Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1927, and *Die Romanische Baukunst des Mittelalters*, p. 208.

4. Lund. Cathedral. Tabernacle, North Transept.

5. Kammin. Cathedral. Reliquary Shrine, ca. 1000

6. Lund. Cathedral. North Portal of Crypt

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7. Lund. Cathedral. Northwest Portal

8. Lund. Cathedral. Tabernacle, North Transept. Detail

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9. Lund. Cathedral. South Portal

10. Lund. Cathedral. North Portal

11. Lund. Cathedral. Tympanum

German school, whose opinion it is that S. Ambrogio of Milan was built shortly before 1128. The close connection of the sculpture in Lund with that of S. Ambrogio proves this to be absolutely impossible, however. The first dedication in the crypt in Lund took place in 1123; in the year 1131, the crypt was completed. This proves that we are right in accepting Mr. Porter's dates [1] for S. Ambrogio (sometime after 1070 and before 1100) and for the building at Modena (between 1099 and 1106), rather than M. Emile Mâle's theory that they are later than 1140.

During the first half of the twelfth century the sculpture of Skåne advanced by leaps and bounds, to stop suddenly about 1150. Until the introduction of Gothic architecture, little or nothing more was built. There flourished, during the first half of the twelfth century, a sculpture which, closely connected with that of France and Spain, did not develop in Germany until much later.

II

At the beginning of the twelfth century the reform movement, which up to that time had been confined to the monastery of Hirsau in Swabia, began to spread beyond the boundaries of the state; and within a short time, there appeared in southern and central Germany more than one hundred monasteries which were occupied by monks from Hirsau. Among the new architectural features that they emphasized were two of great importance: the crypt was excluded from the ground plan, and a narthex flanked by two square towers was placed towards the west. This innovation soon reached the North. At the Augustinian church at Dalby, outside Lund, there was built (about 1123–1130) a Cluniac two-story narthex flanked by two towers, that possibly never were completed. In Schleswig the cathedral was built after the manner of Hirsau, and the crypt was omitted. Probably it also had a façade with two towers. These features and the existence of the Peter Portal indicate that the building of the cathedral, or the alteration of it, must have taken place at about the time when the narthex of the church at Dalby was constructed and the sculpture in the crypt of Lund cathedral was completed, or about 1123–1130.

There are many similarities between the cathedral in Schleswig and that of Ribe, Jutland. The ground plan of the cathedral at Ribe is of the familiar T-shape, so common in Aquitaine. The crypt is lacking, but there had been at least planned a western façade with two towers flanking a two-story narthex, as at Dalby. The portal of the southern transept, the well-known Kathoved Portal (Fig. 18), is very similar to the Peter Portal in Schleswig which, in its turn, influenced those of the ashlar churches in Angeln (as at

[1] Porter, *Lombard Architecture* (New Haven, 1917) vol. II, p. 595.

Sörup, Fig. 19). On all of these the tympanum motive of the Peter Portal, Christ between Peter and Paul, appears. This motive is repeated in smaller churches near Ribe, and is found in a similar arrangement on several tympana in Upper Alsace, especially on those connected with the Gallus Portal of the cathedral of Basel, which has been supposed to be due to north Italian and west French influences.

The archivolts of the Peter and the Kathoved Portals are not filled with roll mouldings, as is usual in Romanesque style, but are finished simply with plain corners as, for instance, at Charlieu in Burgundy and in western France. Moreover, they have the horseshoe arch, otherwise unknown in the North. In other respects the Kathoved Portal belongs to the Lombard-Apulian column and baldachin portal type, as it appears at Modena, Ruvo, Barletta, and other places. At the portals of Ribe and of Schleswig are figures of guardian lions resting on human beings or on demons. At St. Michael's in Schleswig we find the façade lions of S. Michele of Pavia, an example of provincial imitation (Fig. 17). At the cathedral in Schleswig are six lions (Figs. 15, 16), one of which recalls those of S. Niccola and the cathedral at Bari and the elephants on the marble throne at Canossa (1078–1089). The seated lion at the State Archives in Schleswig (Fig. 20) makes one think of the dog portal of the cathedral at Ruvo. The seated Atlantis at Norderbrarup (Fig. 21) has its prototype in a Lombard baldachin portal, for instance, in the north portal at Piacenza (1120–1130).

The reliefs at Öster-Starup in Jutland (Figs. 22, 23) belong to the same sculptural group. Here the figures are similar to those of the Kathoved Portal, and Francis Beckett [1] has even pointed out analogies with the crypt sculpture in Lund. Therefore the Schleswig sculptural group may be dated about 1123–1130, while the Kathoved Portal, with its more advanced style, can be safely dated about 1130–1140. According to Helms, it is in the part of the building that was constructed by 1134.

III

Among the best known sculptured figures in the crypt of the cathedral in Lund are the two columns with the giant Finn and his wife (Figs. 24, 25). Camille Enlart [2] has interpreted them as Samson and Delilah, whereas Beckett [3] has thought that they ought to be considered as representatives of Christians who had sought protection in the church and therefore cling to the columns.

[1] *Kunstmuseets Aarsskrift*, vol. II, p. 200.
[2] André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, p. 532.
[3] *Danmarks Kunst*, vol. I, p. 207.

12. Lund. Cathedral. Detail, North Portal. Lion

13. Lund. Cathedral. Detail, North Portal. Griffin

14. Lund. Cathedral. Tympanum of North Portal

15. Schleswig. Cathedral.
Sculpture from Portal

16. Schleswig. Cathedral.
Sculpture from Portal

17. Schleswig. St. Michael's Church.
Relief

18. Ribe. Cathedral. South Portal

19. Sörup. Portal

Related works are found along the great pilgrimage roads from Schleswig, through Westphalia, down to Lombardy, especially on capitals. There is, in addition, the column in Freising cathedral, which Richard Hamann [1] considers as a crude form of the south French animal columns at Moissac and Souillac.

Because of the relation of the columnar figures at Lund to the latter, I have interpreted them as scenes of resurrection and redemption, an expression of the hope of Christians for resurrection in connection with the liturgy of Easter week. The giant Finn ought then to be a prophet, probably Elijah, while the other figure shows Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom.[2]

Both columns must have been ready at the dedication of the high altar in the crypt on June 30, 1123. At that occasion, relics — among others, some from the grave of Lazarus — were placed in the altar. Did not this fact have a close connection with the column, representing Abraham with Lazarus in his bosom, which was completed at the same time? This is the more possible, since the motive, as well as the relics, points to France and Cluniac art. Relics of St. Lazarus are kept in the cathedral at Autun; he is the patron saint of Autun, Avallon, Carcassonne, and Marseille. The facts that the right-hand altar in the crypt of Lund was dedicated in 1131 to St. Blaise and St. Giles, the chief saints of Provence, and that when the cathedral was dedicated in 1145, the celebration took place on the first of September, St. Giles' Day, are further indications of connection with France.

The capital of the prophet column (Fig. 28) with its band and foliage ornamentation bears in its high relief the impress of the art of Pavia. But the home of the statue and of the animal columns is southern France. The Lund column was restored during the eighteenth century, but shows, nevertheless, a surprising resemblance to the Jeremiah at Moissac (Fig. 26) and to the Isaiah at Souillac (Fig. 27). The seated Abraham in Lund is reminiscent of the Abraham with Lazarus at Moissac (Fig. 29).

According to Mr. Porter, the sculpture of Moissac as well as that of Souillac descends directly from Santo Domingo de Silos. The head of Joseph of Arimathea at Silos (Fig. 33) appears again on the baptismal fonts of St. John's at Föhr and at Munkbrarup in Schleswig, which are closely related to the Lund sculpture, and on the column at Freising. But especially characteristic is the sash around the waist, the ends of which hang down and become wider at the bottom. This detail of dress is identical on the columns at Lund. As the Crucifixion at Silos is connected with the Externstein in Teutoburger Forest, dating from about 1115, and as it is closely linked with the capital of the eleventh century at Cluny, with western France, and with

[1] *Deutsche und französische Kunst im Mittelalter*, vol. I, p. 15.

[2] William Anderson, *Jätten Finn på cluniacensernas pilgrimsvägar*, in *Fornvännen*, 1926, pp. 133–147.

the south Swedish sculpture of that epoch, so the tympanum of the Kathoved Portal at Ribe is connected with the Externstein.

The tympanum of the Kathoved Portal represents the Descent from the Cross (Fig. 30). The work, done in granite, has a dramatic, spiritual quality. The tension is over; inner sorrow, peace, and tenderness predominate. Moreover, there is not a stiff arrangement of the figures, but all show natural action. After 1130, as usual, they are developed with plastic independence; they are separate, they are freed from the limitations of a single plane. That is an innovation. In other respects the style is the old one, and follows examples from the eleventh century. As yet, one cannot distinguish the upper part of the body from the lower; the figures form a rhythmic composition, and the folds lie on the surface. The powerful form of Christ which dominates the scene has a close parallel in the Courajod Crucifix in the Louvre. The Christ figure on the Externstein can also be compared to it, because of the same arrangement of the hair and the large overturn which hangs down from the richly folded robe. Observe also the hanging sash-ends on Joseph and Nicodemus which appear on the prophet column in the crypt in Lund (Fig. 25) and in Santo Domingo de Silos (Fig. 33). As the monumental crypt sculptures in Lund, as well as those of the Externstein, have their nearest parallels at Souillac, Moissac, and Santo Domingo de Silos, and as the sculpture at Ribe is so closely related to that of Lund otherwise, we must here assume that the master workman received his training there. Roosval has already pointed out that the sculptured Deposition at Ribe is very similar to the reliefs of William of Modena. This is explained by the fact that Modena and Lombardy were the inspirational source in the sculpture of Angoulême during the first decades of the twelfth century. As so many other things at Ribe point to western France, it seems possible that the sculptor of the Kathoved Portal, too, got his idea of monumental sculpture there.

The tympanum of the Peter Portal (Fig. 31) is more significant. We again find the same drapery as at Conques, St.-Sernin in Toulouse, and Moissac. It is to be noted that the legs of the figure of Matthew are in the X-position which is characteristic of the sculpture of Toulouse and Comtposela. The composition of the portal, characteristic of the country churches in the neighborhood of Schleswig and Ribe, is also found in the province of Västergötland, in Sweden. The south portal at Forshem, Västergötland, representing Christ between Peter and Paul (Fig. 32), has much in common, iconographically, with Schleswig. A number of reliefs, connected with the school of the master sculptor of the crypt at Lund, are preserved at Forshem (Fig. 39) and at Skara. The reliefs which are kept in the Skara cathedral show the expulsion from Paradise, a bishop, and the cock miracle known through the legend about the apostle St. James of Compostela (Figs. 37, 38, 40). Notice

20. Schleswig. Cathedral. Sculpture from Portal

21. Norderbraup. Portal

22. Öster-Starup. Relief

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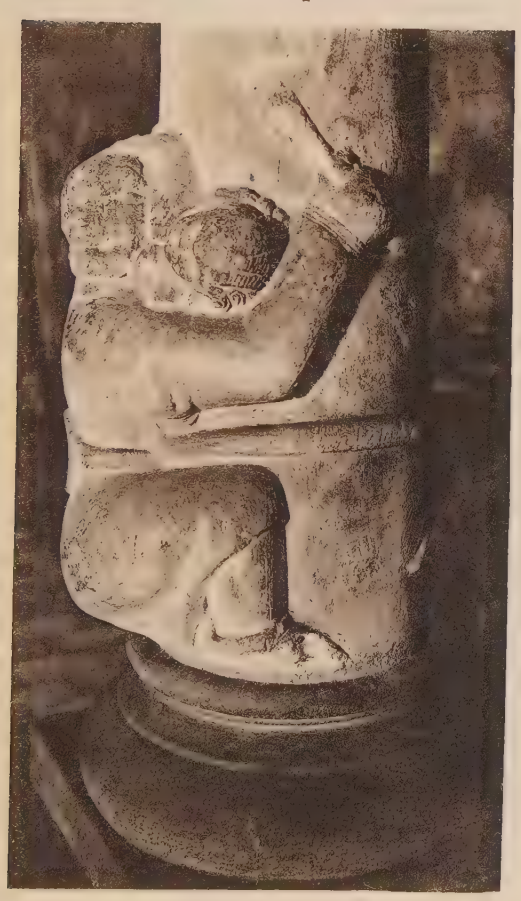
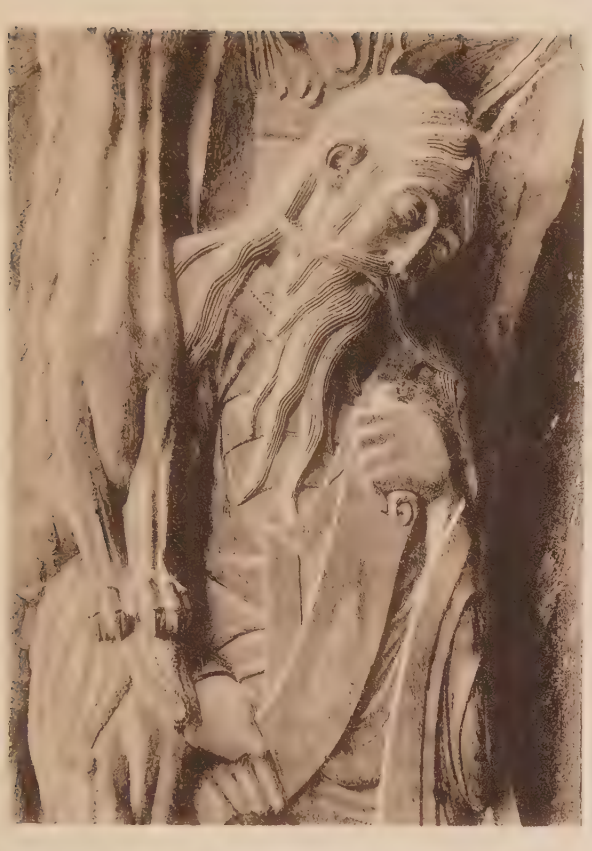
23. Öster-Starup. Relief

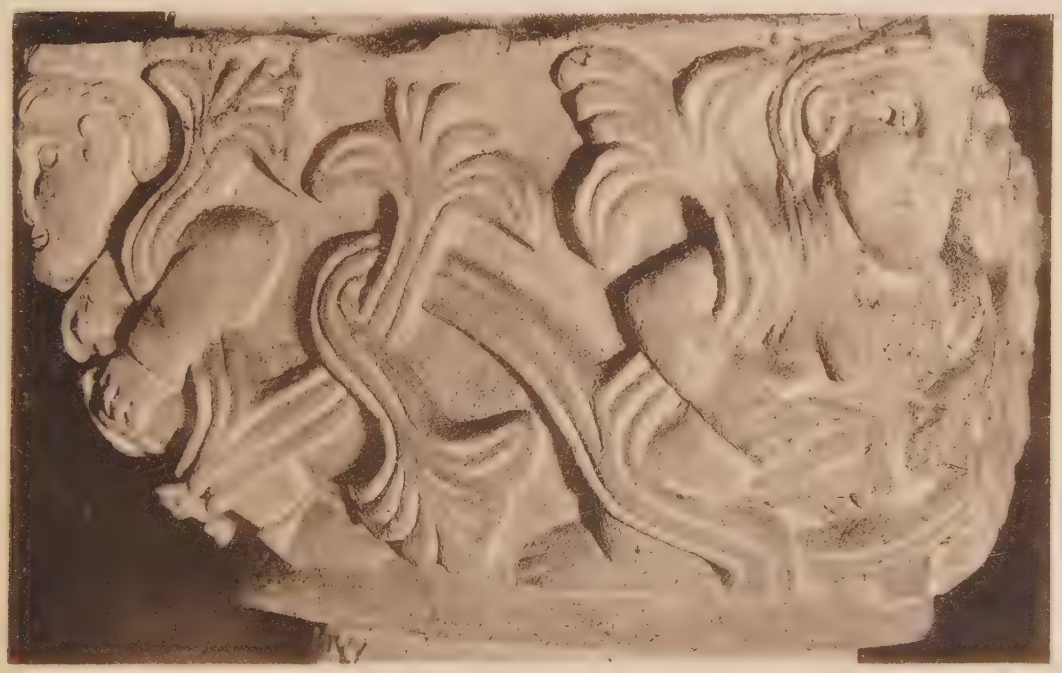


24. Lund. Cathedral. Abraham with Isaac in his Bosom, ca. 1110–1123

25. Lund. Cathedral. Prophet, ca. 1110–1123



26. Moissac. Trumeau of Porch. Jeremiah. 27. Souillac. Isaiah.
A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Pls. 365, 344)



28. Lund. Cathedral. Capital in the Crypt, ca. 1110–1123

that the Skara reliefs are sculptured in a niche just as the reliefs preserved at Santo Domingo de Silos.

Other relief churches in Västergötland testify to a close connection with the school of Hirsau; namely, Skälfvum and Gössluńda, where the socle is extended and continues around the portal (an especially characteristic feature of the architecture of the school of Hirsau). The small northern portal of St. Peter's at Hirsau,[1] for instance, is constructed in this manner. This peculiarity appears again at Fardhem (Gotland), on one of the oldest apsed churches that has been preserved, where the socle continues around the choir portal (Fig. 34). Beside this there are, in the wall, a number of reliefs that are immediately connected with the crypt sculptures in Lund. Roosval has linked them with the workshop of the sculptor Hegvaldr, which has been dated at about 1130–1150.[2] In reality, these reliefs show a surer hand and a more refined technique than we find in Lund at the period 1123–1130, if we may judge by the crypt columns. But the Finn column has been renovated and we do not know what has thus been lost. Sculptures that have since disappeared from the cathedral and from other churches in the city may have been of a quality that would justify their use as models. The connection between the reliefs of Fardhem and the crypt sculptures in Lund is, nevertheless, indisputable. Two saints (St. James and St. Andrews) sitting in frontal position under round arches (Fig. 36) can be compared to sculptures in Languedoc and on the Puerta de las Platerías in Santiago (1102–1112) [3] and to the pilaster figures on the baptismal fonts at Tryde (Figs. 45–51). Two embracing figures at Fardhem (Fig. 34), clothed in robes reaching to the feet, repeat the motives of the pilaster sculpture of the Tryde font. But the models of the Fardhem reliefs are older yet. They can hardly be other than those brought by the master sculptor for the monumental crypt sculptures in Lund, the type of which goes back to the school of Languedoc (Moissac and Souillac) and, in its essentials, to Spanish influences. Spanish art had been known in the provinces of western France since the eleventh century. This had been brought about, not only by the pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela and by the intermarriages between Spanish royalty and the ruling family of Aquitaine, but also by a fact that cannot be too strongly emphasized, the strong internal organization of the monastic orders. All this constitutes the natural background, against which to see the international movements in the art of the twelfth century.

[1] Burkhard Meier, *Die romanischen Portale zwischen Weser und Elbe*, (Heidelberg, 1911), Taf. III, Fig. 9.
[2] Johnny Roosval, *Revision*, in *Fornvännen*, 1925, p. 104 and *Die Steinmeister Gottlands*, Ill. XXI.
[3] Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), vol. VI, Pls. 674–691.

IV

In his monumental work about the sculptors of Gotland, Mr. Roosval has devoted an interesting chapter to *Anonymus Majestatis* [1] who worked in the Lund cathedral. The western baldachin in the north transept (Figs. 41–43) with figures of Michael, cherubs, and seraphs, and the embracing figures in the eastern baldachin of the same transept are his work. The embracing figures which are seated on animals recall, as Wrangel has pointed out, the sculptures on the crypt capitals at Modena. The treatment of the hair, for instance, is the same. We find similar couples of human beings at Ulsnis, in Schleswig (Fig. 35) — Haupt has already indicated this and supposed that they were influenced by Lund [2] — in the Bayeux cathedral,[3] where the figures are standing near each other, and on the western façade of Notre Dame la Grande at Poitiers [4] where they are in the position of wrestlers, and embrace each other at the waist. Far more powerful than these groups, however, are the pilaster figures on *Anonymus Majestatis*' masterpiece, the baptismal font at Tryde, in Skåne (Figs. 45–51). In high relief, facing frontally, and executed in an archaic manner, they stare with large expressionless eyes; the bodies are molten into one single system of folds, the arms are exceedingly thin, and the whole composition has an exceptionally pathetic aspect. They belong to the best of the Nordic figure sculpture that is our heritage from the twelfth century. By examining the figures and the reliefs (Figs. 50, 51), as well as other works of *Anonymus Majestatis*, among which is the baptismal font at Löderup (Figs. 52–54), one gets the impression that the sculptor received inspiration from many sources. The drapery on the figures, the wide, flowing sleeves, the elegant movements of the hands, and the dancing-steps can be traced to the older school of Toulouse and, especially, to St.-Pierre at Moissac. The Lombard influence is shown by the fact that the main types appear in quite a uniform manner on all these pilaster sculptures, by the narrow body, by the firm, energetic chin, smooth, lifeless cheeks, fleshy, large lips under a clumsy nose, almond-shaped eyes with large, round, expressionless pupils, and unusually low forehead over which the hair, parted and neatly lined, hangs down. These features are characteristic of the older Lombard sculpture, especially at Pavia. Byzantine traits appear in the drapery, the long robes reaching to the feet, in the low cap-like crowns, and also in the treatment of the hair (Fig. 46). The curly hair, hanging down in braids that are divided into sections, suggests an Assyrian and a high-priest. It is not a

[1] Roosval, *Die Steinmeister Gottlands* (Stockholm, 1918), pp. 145 ff.

[2] Richard Haupt, *Lund und Schleswig*, in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Schleswig-Holsteinische Geschichte*, vol. 46, p. 212.

[3] V. Ruprich-Robert, *L'Architecture Normande*, vol. II, Ill. CLX.

[4] Hamann, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Ill. 206.

29. Moissac. Relief of Western Side of Porch. Abraham with the Soul of Lazarus. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 366)

30. Ribe. Cathedral. Tympanum of South Portal

31. Schleswig. Cathedral. Tympanum of South Portal

32. Forshem. South Portal

33. Santo Domingo de Silos. Cloister. The Deposition. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 669)

34. Fardhem. South Portal to the Choir

king that we have here, but a magus coming to hand over his gifts. In the pilaster figures we have, then, perhaps scenes from the childhood of Christ, such as Joachim and Anna (Fig. 48), Mary and Elizabeth (Fig. 46), Mary and one of the Three Kings (Fig. 47), and two of the Magi (Fig. 45). Some animal figures on the font, modelled on direct observation of nature, also point to the Orient.

Of special interest is the *Ascension* on the font at Tryde (Fig. 49). The Redeemer, in a mandorla, enthroned and supported by two angels, had appeared on the now lost tympanum at Cluny, whence the motive was carried into Burgundy and southern France. The composition at Tryde is purely Burgundian. The closest analogy is the tympanum of the west portal at Charlieu (1094).[1] The standing angels and the parallel and cross lines are to be found there too, as well as the mandorla and the bell-shaped front of the robe of Christ. The design of the draperies of the figure of Christ and His attitude, which is the same as at Tryde, where He delivers the blessing according to the Greek ritual, are found in another Burgundian work, the altar-frontal at Avenas (Rhône),[2] where He also appears in a mandorla. But in Burgundy, it is a more plastic art — the work appeared not later than 1137 — while in Tryde it is still relief. This strengthens the assumption that the craftsman of the Tryde font was trained, at least partly, in the school of the "Master of the Crypt," and that he made use of models from the eleventh century.

Mr. Porter has compared this tympanum in Charlieu with the *Arca Santa* (1075) in the Cámara Santa at Oviedo and with Guglielmo's works in Modena and Cremona. That *Anonymus Majestatis* was influenced, directly or indirectly, by Charlieu and by the ambulatory capitals of Cluny (1088–1095) is quite evident, a fact easily proved by a comparison of the pilaster figures on the Tryde font (Figs. 45–51) with a Madonna from a metal frontal found in Randers Fjord, Jutland, the latter certainly showing early twelfth century Burgundian influences. The zigzag folds are also seen in the *Majestas Domini* of the copper altar frontal of Broddetorp, now in the National Museum of History in Stockholm, and on the antependium from Montgrony, now in the museum at Vich.[3] The flying folds of Languedoc are characteristic of the Broddetorp figures; in the *Arca Santa* they are predominant. It is interesting to note the similarity between the two lower angels around the *Majestas Domini* on the Broddetorp frontal and the corresponding figures on the *Arca Santa*. The angel at the right in the Broddetorp frontal is found at the left on the *Arca Santa*, and *vice versa*. It seems to me that the Broddetorp

[1] Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, vol. I, p. 70; vol. II, Pl. 4.
[2] Lucien Bégule, *Antiquités et richesses d'art du département du Rhône*, Lyon, 1925, Fig. 60, and pp. 50–53.
[3] Walter W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia*, in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. V, Fig. 1.

master must have passed through Burgundy and belonged to one of the French schools that appeared about 1130–1140 in the north, at Slesvig, Ribe, and Lund [1] among other places. In his work upon the Nordic copper-frontals Nørland [2] unfortunately did not consider the Spanish examples, so that he dated Broddetorp about 1175–1190, a date that seems to me too late.

A similar and important conclusion is reached by a study of the tympanum from the abbey at Vestervig, Jutland (Fig. 56), at a monastery of the same order as that with which St. Lawrence of Lund was connected. The Burgundian bell-shaped robe appears again in this composition. Here is, then, the beginning of a modelled relief. Otherwise the sculpture is atavistic, as is shown by the arrangement of the angels, which appear in almost the same position on one of the oldest tympana in France, at St.-Genis-des-Fontaines in Roussillon (1020), which, according to Mr. Porter,[3] goes back to Spanish influence.

Further evidence of this influence is furnished by the pilaster figures (Figs. 55, 58), the ancestors of which are the jamb sculptures of the Puerta de las Platerías in Santiago de Compostela (1103).[4] Here we find the frontal position, the parallel legs, the lengthwise and deep V-folds, and the double grooves found on the surface of the Tryde sculptures surrounding the shiny folded areas. In San Isidoro of León, the same double grooves appear and also the long, fat, round-cheeked heads of the Tryde pilasters. The cathedral of Santiago and San Isidoro of León were Cluniac churches along the great pilgrimage roads. The prototypes of the Tryde sculpture must then have come from the same regions where we found the material on which to base our conclusions in regard to the style of the "Crypt Master," namely, in Santo Domingo de Silos. But on the other hand, one cannot deny that the sculptured figures of *Anonymus Majestatis* have near parallels in western France and Languedoc, for instance, in Toulouse. A relief in the church of Heda, in the province of Östergötland (Fig. 57), is so closely related to the art of *Anonymus Majestatis* that it must have been produced in his workshops. The tower at Heda was earlier covered by a massive, cupola-shaped stone roof like those in Aquitaine, and the seated knight on the relief has his legs crossed in the position characteristic of Toulouse and Santiago. A more exact analysis of the Tryde figures shows that they are due to powerful Byzantine influences. A Byzantine monument standing by a highway seems to have been of fundamental importance to the prototypes of the pilaster

[1] Anderson, *Broddetorpsantemensalet*, in *Historisk Tidskrift*, 1928, and *Ribe, Bari och Perigord*, in *Tidskrift for Konstvetenskap*, 1925–1926, pp. 75–93.

[2] Poul Nørland, *Golden Altars*, Copenhagen, 1926.

[3] Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, Ill. 513, and *Leonesque, Romanesque and Southern France*, in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. VIII, p. 244.

[4] Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, vol. VI, Figs. 687, 690.

35. Ulsnis. Sculpture

36. Fardhem. South Portal to the Choir. Detail

37. Skara. Cathedral. Relief

38. Skara. Cathedral. Relief

39. Forshem. Relief

40. Skara. Cathedral. Relief

41. Lund. Cathedral. Tabernacle in North Transept. Detail

42. Lund. Cathedral. Tabernacle in North Transept

43. Lund. Cathedral. Tabernacle in North Transept. Detail

44. Lund. Cathedral. Detail from Fig. 4, East Tabernacle in North Transept

45. Tryde. Font, ca. 1130–1140

46. Tryde. Font

47. Tryde. Font

figures. It is a porphyry group, representing two embracing warriors, now on the south side of San Marco in Venice beside the Porta della Carta (Fig. 59). Two theories, very much at variance, have been put forward to account for these figures that were apparently intended to crown a column. Wulff considers it likely that they represent the sons of Constantine, that they compose a symbol of the unity of the Roman Empire, and that in all probability they were made in Alexandria in the third century.[1] Semper, on the other hand, holds that they represent the two generals Nikephoros and Tzimiskes who, in alliance with the two sons of the Empress Theophania, Basilius II and Constantine IX, succeeded in freeing Syria from the Mohammedan rule. The generals were for twelve years guardians of the princes, and Semper contends that the group adorned a triumphal monument which they actually erected.[2]

The two views are not, however, mutually exclusive. The situation is as follows. As to their origin there is, on the one hand, a doubtful late account that they were brought from Constantinople, while, on the other hand, a more credible one informs us that they came from St. Jean d'Acre (Ptolemy), whence they were brought to Venice, with other monuments, by the Venetian admiral, Lorenzo Tiepolo. In that year a bitter struggle had taken place between the Genoese and the Venetians over the privileges in St. Jean d'Acre, especially over the possession of San Saba, which dated back to the first centuries of Christianity. Fortified by the Genoese, the town was taken by the Venetians, who destroyed the church and brought fragments and monuments back to the lagoon city.[3]

A comparison of the Tryde compositions with the Venetian sculpture and with a Roman group of *imperatores* in the Vatican Museum brings out the following similarities. The Tryde figures wear long warrior mantles which hang down over their backs reaching nearly to the feet. In one case (Fig. 47, left) it is fastened on the right shoulder, as on the Venetian statue. Two of the Tryde figures wear low round crowns (Fig. 48, right, and Fig. 46, left). On Fig. 46 there is a small hole at the front in which there was probably a metal ornament like those used by the Venetians. During the late Byzantine empire, the high commanders of the troops wore such crown-like helmets. Of the Venetian figures, one has a short full beard and the other is beardless. Such is the case in Tryde (Figs. 48, 47). Moreover, it is to be noted that the bearded man embraces the beardless. The Vatican figures carry balls in their left hand just as the ones on the Michael relief in Lund (Fig. 62), while those of Venice hold the sword in the same hand and in the same man-

[1] Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst*, p. 155 and Ill. 148.

[2] Hans Semper, *Eine venetianische Holztafel mit Beinreliefs im Kensington-Museum*, in *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*, 1901, col. 79.

[3] *Ibid.*, col. 67.

ner as one of the figures at Tryde (Fig. 47, left). On the arm bands of Michael's coat of mail there are circles with holes in the middle that probably were set with metallic plates. The Romans and the Venetians also wear similar girdles. The abundantly folded lorica under the girdle appears again on the Michael relief.

The reliefs at Fardhem and at Ulsnis indicate that certain motives of the Tryde font have been found in the "Crypt Master's" supply of types. I believe that I have already proved that *Anonymus Majestatis* was a direct disciple of his, and that the much-discussed Michael relief in Lund (Fig. 62) must have come into existence in close contact with the works of *Anonymus Majestatis*.

V

Among the sculptures in the north portal at Lund is an angel in life-like position (Fig. 61). The figure is in rapid flight, and the upper part of the body is bent forward. The position of the head, and the large, symmetrically placed wings give the necessary balance. There is only a slight trace of the folds in the double lines brought together in V-shape at the waist. The chest and the neck are ornamented with perforated tracery.

I know of no better parallel to this than a relief on the west façade of St.-Gilles representing the offering by Cain and Abel (Fig. 61). The relief in Lund also has some similarity to it in the long robes falling in many deep parallel folds to the feet. The cross-folds consisting of double lines over the abdominal section appear in an almost identical manner on both. Mr. Porter has pointed out that this relief is connected with a relief at S. Zeno, Verona, and has also indicated that Master Nicholas possibly was subject to Provençal influence. The same offering scene appears on the west façade of Modena. The style is the same as at St.-Gilles. We have here the smooth surface of the low relief of the sculptor of Angoulême and of the older Toulouse school in which the folds, like wide ribbons, spread into the shape of a fan and are surrounded by double lines.

S. Zeno, Modena, and St.-Gilles. . . . They form one of the most discussed problems, whose difficulties extend into the Nordic regions. Consider the reliefs from Kjells Nöbbelöf, Skåne (Fig. 63) and notice the wide folds at the bottom of the short robe, the richly folded hood on the back. The same arrangement of folds is found elsewhere and the same dress detail is placed frontward over the arm of Abel in the relief at Modena (Fig. 64). In this connection we must glance at the legendary motives that are preserved on the south Swedish reliefs of the twelfth century.

According to G. Paris, the Roland legend was preserved in the Pyrenees, in the neighborhood of Roncevaux, and later developed further in the monas-

48. Tryde, Font

49. Tryde. Font

50. Tryde. Font

51. Tryde. Font

52. Löderup. Font

53. Löderup. Font

54. Löderup. Font

teries and churches along the pilgrimage roads which, in these regions, led down to Santiago de Compostela. In these churches memorials and relics of Roland were often shown, as, for example, his grave in the church at Blaye, and they are supposed to have caused the continued development of the Roland legend. This is in agreement with the most recent research in the Romanesque art of the twelfth century, for which the pilgrimage roads had the greatest significance. According to Mr. Porter,[1] the pilgrimage road to Santiago went through Roncevaux. The leaders in the pilgrimage movement were Cluniacs, who owned large monasteries along the roads. One of these monasteries was St.-Pierre in Moissac, where a figure of Roland stands over the porch and blows a horn. At Sangüesa (Navarra) there are some scenes which have not yet been interpreted, on the south portal, about 1155. Some of them belong to the Sigurd legend, so well known in the North[2] and are influenced by it, while others, such as an equestrian, a man killing his opponent with a sword, a tree, a horse, and so forth, probably belong to the Roland legend or to that of Theodoric. The Roland tradition early invaded Italy, and scenes from it soon captured the imagination of the Lombard sculptors. The Carolingian cycle is represented at the cathedral of Verona, for instance, where stand the paladins, Roland and Oliver[3]; a man holding a horn is seen at S. Michele, Pavia (about 1000)[4]; scenes from the Theodoric legend have been sculptured by Master Nicholas at S. Zeno, Verona (1138)[5]; other scenes belonging to the Arthurian legend are seen in the Porta della Pescheria at Modena (1099–1106)[6] and have their best analogies in the southwest portal of S. Niccola in Bari.

Mr. A. Lindblom has indicated the sources which relate an old traditional connection between the northern part of the province of Småland and St.-Gilles. The same author interprets the motive on a chest at Våxtorp (Fig. 67) as the chase of Charlemagne and his meeting with St. Giles.[7] In the Norwegian *Karlamagnus-saga* it is said that Charlemagne had intercourse with his sister Gilem. The angel Gabriel revealed that sin to Giles, who absolved the king, whereupon the latter gave his sister in marriage to Milun. After seven months she gave birth to her son Roland.[8] In the Giles legend it is told that the saint fled to the woods, where a hind visited him twice daily. One of Charlemagne's hunters who were pursuing the hind shot at it, but hit Giles. When they reached their quarry, they found a man with a long

[1] Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, vol. I, pp. 179, 180.

[2] William Anderson, *Internationalismen i konsten under 1100-talet*, in *Tidskrift för Konstvetenskap*, 1925–1926, and Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, vol. I, p. 254 and Figs. 749, 750.

[3] Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, Pl. 217, Figs. 1, 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 435 ff. [5] *Ibid.*, Pl. 229, Fig. 2. [6] *Ibid.*, Pl. 144, Fig. 3.

[7] Andreas Lindblom, *La peinture gothique en Suède et en Norvège*, (Stockholm, 1916), pp. 217–219.

[8] Gustav Storm, *Sagnkredsene om Karl den store og Didrik af Bern hos de nordiske folk* (Kristiania, 1874), p. 37.

beard, the hind at his feet. The king then went up to him and asked for mercy, afterwards confessing to the saint. Similar works in metal exist at Ryssby (Fig. 65), at Rydaholm (Fig. 66) in Småland, and at Rogslösa (Fig. 68) in Östergötland, regions all under the influence of the sculpture of Skåne. But a closer examination shows that these works in metal are composed of elements from several different sagas. On the chest at Ryssby the hind carries a sword, and the scene has been interpreted as having connection with the legend of St. Hubert. On the chest at Rydaholm a horse, too, appears on the scene; the walking man blows a horn (compare the Rogslösa door, Fig. 68) and a devil sits in the tree in front of the hind. How close this art is to stone sculpture can be seen by a relief, preserved at Rydaholm (Fig. 70), which had originally been in the wall of the old church, and therefore is a work of the building troupe of Skåne of about 1130–1140. These scenes have more in common with the bottom panels of Nicolò at the right of the portal of S. Zeno, Verona (Fig. 69), where Theodoric of Berne is shown as the wild hunter. He is on horseback with a hunting-horn in his hand, in pursuit of a hind which one of his dogs is biting. The chase leads towards the gate of Hell, where the Devil is awaiting his prey. I should say that we have on the chests, at least in the case of the one at Rydaholm, a Veronese scene transmitted by Lund. On the western façade of St.-Gilles there appears within circles a centaur chasing a hind, and in the cathedral at Verona we also find a frieze with the hunter, the dogs, and the hind, all within circles (Fig. 71).

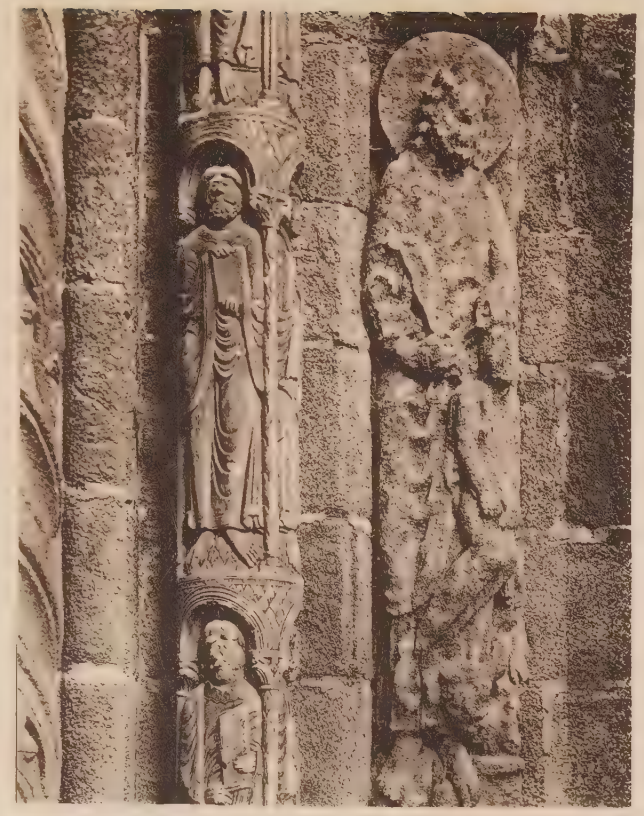
Mr. A. Romdahl[1] has assumed a connection between these works and the bronze doors of Verona, but thinks that the master-workman got his ideas via the cathedral of Linköping. So many other details in architecture and sculpture in these parts of Småland and Östergötland have, however, been brought from Skåne, that we are justified in supposing that it was the centre from which the motives spread over southern Sweden. And is it not significant that in Västergötland, which was strongly influenced by the sculpture of Skåne, the chase of St. Hubert appears within circles on the copper altar frontal at Broddetorp?

In Skåne the legends of St. Hubert and of St. Eustace are mingled on the baptismal font at Östra Kärrstorp (in the district of Färs).[2] The first scene portrays the duke Hubert (wearing a crown), hunting the hind with his dogs. The next one shows Eustace and his wife riding on horseback towards a ship, to embark for Egypt. The rowers are already occupied at the oars.

If we go to the Lund cathedral, we find scenes of the same iconography among the works attributed to Byzantios, a sculptor contemporary with

[1] Axel L. Romdahl, *Rogslösadörren och en grupp romanska smiden*, in *Fornvännen* (1914), pp. 234 ff.

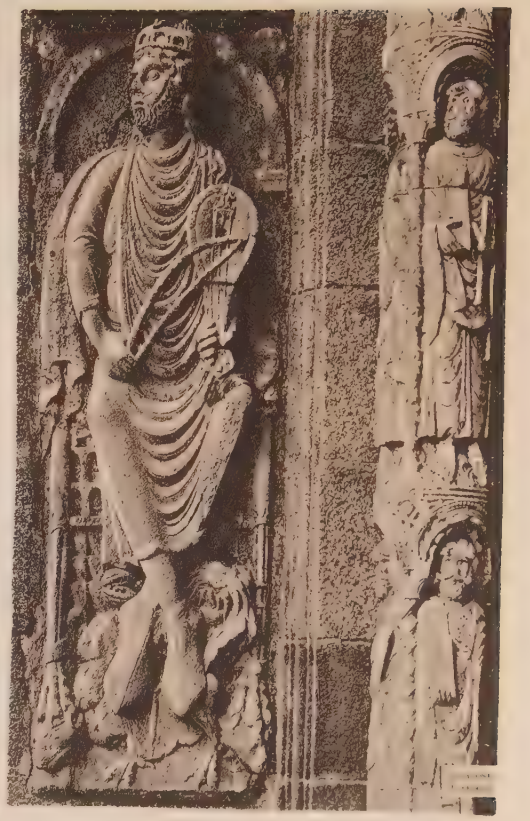
[2] L. Tynell, *Skånes medeltida dopfuntar*, p. 29 and Pl. VI, Figs. 3–5.



55. Santiago de Compostela. Cathedral. Puerta de las Platerías. Eastern Jamb. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 690)

56. Vestervig. Tympanum

57. Heda. Relief



58. Santiago. Cathedral. Puerta de las Platerías. Western Jamb. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 690)

59. Venice. S. Marco. Porta della Carta.
(Alinari phot.)

60. Lund. Cathedral. Relief from the North Portal

61. St.-Gilles. West Façade. Offering of Cain and Abel.
(Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, Pl. 230, Fig. 5)

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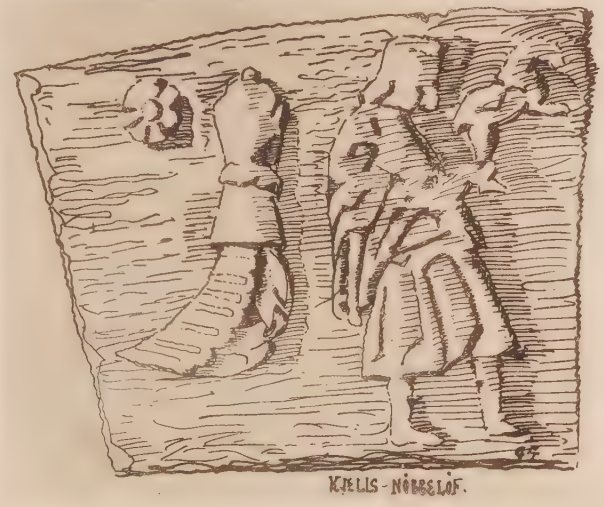
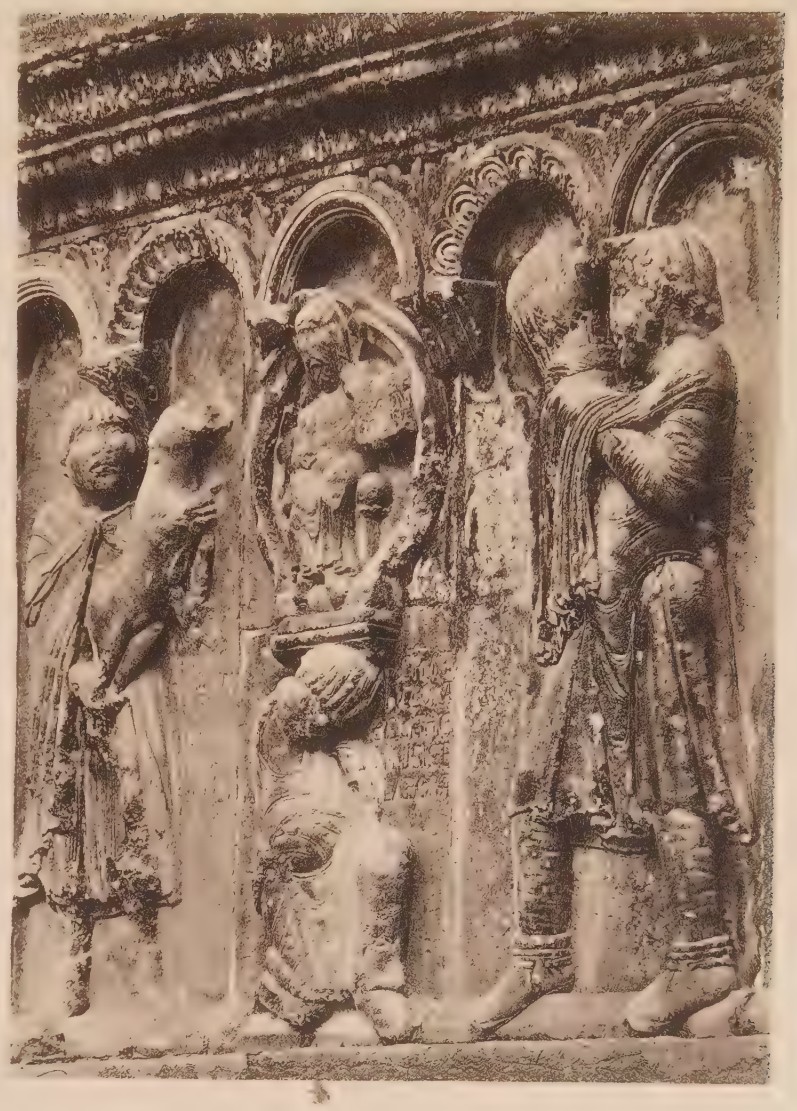
62. Lund. Cathedral. Relief from the old West Façade. St. Michael



63. Kjells Nöbbelöf. Relief



64. Modena. Cathedral. Reliefs of Façade. Cain and Abel. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 144, Fig. 2)

Anonymus Majestatis. Roosval [1] attributes to him the reliefs over the large north portal, dated about 1125–1130; therefore, the same portal from which our relief with the angels was taken. The following four reliefs on the same frieze have been preserved: the fall of man, the tree of the world, a dog and a hind, and a horseman with gerfalcon, a scene that recalls Theodoric (Fig. 72). The arch in the northeastern baldachin is also attributed to Byzantios, and so is the baptismal font at Dalby.[2] There are seven scenes each in a circle, and they represent trees, a unicorn, two griffins, a hind, another hind pursued by a man with hunting horn to his lips and by a dog, acanthus leaves and bunches of grapes, and the baptism of Jesus. The angel's wings are adorned with perforated tracery just as in St.-Gilles; the same ornamentation outlines the wings of the griffins in the third scene and those of our angel (Fig. 60). Thus it ought to be a settled point that the master of the metal craft in Småland got his motives in Lund. The deviations may easily be explained by the difference in the materials used. It is natural that these figures of iron should have stiffer movements.[3] But, in spite of the medium, the craftsman of the Rogslösa door succeeded remarkably well with his task. Michael's fight with the dragon on this door is comparable to an analogous group on the baptismal font at Kropp, Skåne.[4]

Lund's connection with Pavia and Modena is known and proved. How close it was with Verona is shown by the tympanum from Stångby (Fig. 73), for instance, which reverses the motive of a relief on the small south portal of the cathedral at Verona (Fig. 74). The two rosettes are the trade mark of the Lombard travelling sculptors.

VI

A few reliefs from the former west façade in Lund have been preserved, such as a Christ as the *Majestas Domini* (Fig. 75) and the above-mentioned Michael relief (Fig. 62). By comparing the latter with the southern cherub on the northwestern baldachin in Lund (about 1125–1130) (Fig. 41), one finds that the sculptor of the Michael relief must have worked in the shops of *Anonymus Majestatis.* If further proof is needed, it may be found in the fact that the composition has its prototype in a small relief (Fig. 76) with the same motive. This relief, since it is a part of the masonry above the southern entrance to the crypt, must have been ready at the final dedication of the crypt in 1131. The two larger reliefs, in which the surface folds betray a

[1] *Revision,* in *Fornvännen* (1925), p. 103.

[2] Tynell, *op. cit.,* p. 95 and Pl. XLIII, Figs. 2–5.

[3] Similar scenes with like motives appear in Italian floor mosaics, *e.g.,* in Apulia. See R. Pagenstecher, *Apulien,* in *Berühmte Kunststätten,* vol. 65 and Fig. 121.

[4] Tynell, *op. cit.,* Pl. XXXV.

close connection with older forms and an artist of second rank, must have been finished shortly after the dedication of the cathedral, or about 1146–1150.[1]

The baptismal font at Saxtorp (Skåne) belongs to the same school as the little Michael relief. Its cuppa shows, among other figures, a *Christus Pantocrator* (Fig. 77), and on its base there is an orant in the same position as John on the tympanum of the south portal of St. Peter's (Fig. 78) at Soest (Westphalia). The *Majestas* in Lund has no better parallel than the tympanum of the northern entrance of St. Patroklus at Soest (Fig. 79), in which the figures are in the same position, with the same lengthwise and crosswise folds, and the same small cross-folds (⌃) as the two Lund reliefs. These folds, which can be regarded as the mark of a master sculptor, appear also on the donor-relief at Erwitte (Westphalia).[2] The donor's head is the one characteristic of the figures of *Anonymus Majestatis*' fonts. The consoles in the north portal of Erwitte have the characteristic form of the architectural school of Skåne of the middle of the twelfth century. The tympanum [3] is the work of the sculptor who worked at Soest, and here too we find the V- and the cross-folds. Furthermore, one may point out that the tympanum of the south portal of Erwitte [4] which, in the scene of Michael's struggle, recalls Öster-Starup (Fig. 22), has a St. Lawrence that is a direct imitation of the little St. Michael in Lund (Fig. 76). Finally, the angels of the triumphal arch of Erwitte [5] are pure copies of the cherubs at Lund (Figs. 43, 44).

The church of Erwitte which, like the cathedral of Lund, was dedicated to St. Lawrence, depended upon the cathedral of St. Patroklus at Soest. The men who worked there must also have executed the tympana of St. Patroklus' and of St. Peter's. The low relief and the small cross-folds show that all these were made by the disciples of the same *Anonymus Majestatis* who worked on the tympana in Lund. When the latter were completed, about 1150, the sculptor's work on the cathedral was practically ended, and the followers of *Anonymus Majestatis* went forth in various directions. Some remained in Skåne and Sweden, while others on their way home reached Westphalia, where they disappear from our view.

It is of interest that one of the pupils of *Anonymus Majestatis*, Othelric, who worked in Västergötland, probably was of Low-German birth. He built Skälfvum church and carved numerous reliefs which are related to the well-known portal tympana at Erwitte and Soest. We may ascribe to him: first, a *Majestas*, finished at the bottom by vine border such as is to be found on a gravestone at Riesenbeck and on the tympanum of St. Patroklus at

[1] William Anderson, *Erwitte und Soest*, in *Soester Anzeiger*, July 30, 1927.
[2] Hermann Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)* (Leipzig, 1924), 105*b*.
[3] *Ibid.*, 105*c*. [4] *Ibid.*, 105*a*. [5] *Ibid.*, 103*b*.

65. Ryssby. Chest with Iron Reliefs

66. Rydaholm. Chest with Iron Reliefs

67. Våxtorp. Chest with Iron Reliefs

68. Rogslösa. Door with Iron Reliefs

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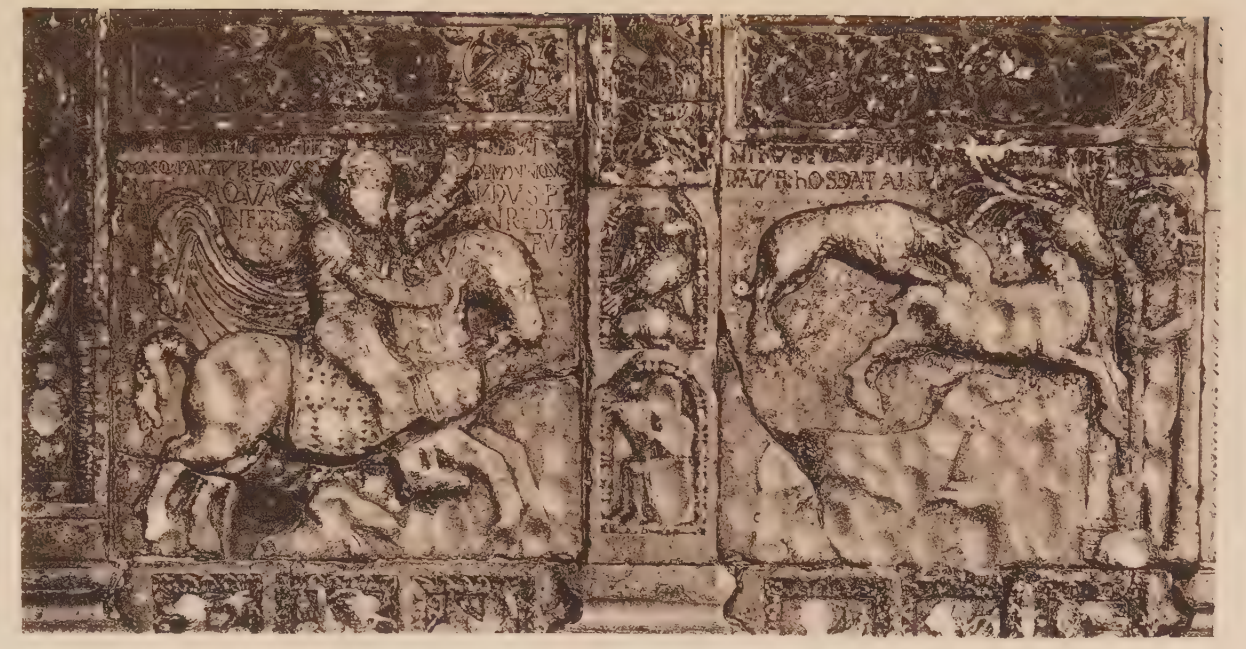

69. Verona. S. Zeno. Relief. Theodoric. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 229, Fig. 2)

70. Rydaholm. Relief

71. Verona. Cathedral. Reliefs of Façade. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 216, Fig. 1)

Soest; second, the figure of a bishop at Skälfvum (Fig. 82), analogous to works scattered from Lund to Pavia; and third, an altar (Fig. 80). Attempts have been made to prove an English influence for the baptismal fonts of Othelric, in such motives as Michael with the scales, horsemen, men fighting with sea-horses, and others. These scenes are common in Denmark, however (e.g., on the baptismal font at Malt, Fig. 81), and were brought over from Lombardy (Verona, Pavia, Piacenza).

Beenken [1] has supposed the same source for the Erwitte sculpture as for the Externstein. He compares it to west French capitals. This coincides with what has been presented here concerning *Anonymus Majestatis*. After receiving his training from the Cluniac "Crypt Master," he developed himself further under the strong influence of west French (Lombard) and Spanish sculpture. This indicates that he was in contact with some of the great art centres of Aquitaine. But those of his pupils who worked in Erwitte did not show in their compositions the unity that distinguished the work of their master. Such monumental cherubs as those of *Anonymus Majestatis* we do not find very often in the France of that time.

A further proof of the contact between Lund and Westphalia after about 1150 is the so-called *Fraternity Book* from Corvey (*Codex Wilbaldinus*) in the state archives at Münster. In this book, presented by Dean Adalbert (1147–1176), is a *Majestas* in the form used in Lund, Soest, and Erwitte. Was this the prototype of our *Majestas?* It does not seem unlikely, as this codex is the work of the school at Helmarshausen, the same monastery with which the Lund cathedral was in fraternal relationship. Two works of this school, both probably belonging to the cathedral in Lund, have come to the North (Cod. Ups. 83, in Upsala, and Thott 21 4:0, in Copenhagen). In the *Necrologium Ludense*, we read under date of January 3, in the writing of the second or third quarter of the twelfth century, "Item Findor, frater noster, presbiter et monachus sancti Petri in Helmwardis, qui dedit fratribus dimidium mansum in illa Hullogu." Findor is an unusual name in the North. He must have come to Lund and there given his possessions to the cathedral. And he must have come there shortly after 1146, as his name is included among those of the brothers in the *Fraternity Book* at Corvey.[2] It is not impossible that Findor also took part at that time in the monumental painting in Skåne which is closely related to the *Majestas* relief in Lund. Thus the *Majestas* at Vä (Fig. 83) shows great similarity to the apse painting at St. Patroklus at Soest, and the characteristic traits appear at Erwitte and at Lund, too. This Byzantine Redeemer type is nobler, indeed, than the one at Öfraby (Fig. 85)

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

[2] P. Beckmann, *Korveyer und Osnabrücker Eigennahmen des IX.–XII. Jahrhunderts.* Diss. (Münster i. W., 1904), p. 17.

where, however, the apostles in their gold-seamed robes seem to be brought over directly from Byzantine types. The apse painting at Lackalänga (Fig. 84) is also related, but this narrow, concentrated style seems to have its closest analogies with Cluny and Spanish painting.

VII

During the early Middle Ages the city of Schleswig was Skåne's port to the continent. Through it passed goods, travellers, and spiritual influences. The cathedral in Schleswig belonged to the Augustinians; it was in fraternal relationship with the cathedral of St. Lawrence in Lund.[1] The main church, St. Michael's, in Schleswig belonged to the Cluniac order. Both of these important spiritual metropolises were very closely connected through the ecclesiastical organization that was developed within the monastic orders. Pilgrims went through Schleswig on their way to Rome and to the Holy Land. One of the best known thoroughfares went from Schleswig to the Rhine by way of the fraternal monasteries (Bremen?), Helmarshausen, Corvey, Abdinghof near Paderborn, St. Patroklus at Soest, and St. Pantaleon in Cologne. From the Rhine valley the way went over one of the most commonly used Alpine routes of the Middle Ages, namely, the one that led from the Lake of Constance or the Lake of Zürich to Como,[2] while another road may have led from the upper Rhine into Burgundy.

An Icelandic guide for pilgrims, written about the middle of the twelfth century, gives valuable information concerning the stopping-places of the pilgrims on the way to Rome.[3] It was a two days' journey from Norway to Aalborg. Thence the way went over Viborg, Hedeby, Schleswig, Itzehoe, over the Elbe to Stade, then by Werden, Minden, Paderborn, to Mainz. Another route led from Stade through Hildesheim and Gandersheim to Mainz, and the author writes that "these two main roads were followed by the Norsemen; the roads met in Mainz where they became the highway." Another way from Norway to Rome went through Friesland, Deventer or Utrecht " where one takes staff and bag and is initiated for the journey to Rome." From Mainz it continued via Strasbourg, Basel, and the hospice of St. Bernard to Aosta. By way of Camera at Pont-St.-Martin, Ivrea, Vercelli, and Milan the pilgrim came to Pavia " where one comes to the road

[1] According to the *Necrologium Ludense* the cathedral was fraternally connected with Dalby, the Cluniac monastery Allhelgona at Lund, Roskilde, Odense, Viborg, Vestervig, Schleswig, Ravengiersburg, and Helmarshausen.

[2] Erwin Kalischer, *Beiträge zur Handelsgeschichte der Klöster zur Zeit der Grossgrundherrschaften* (Berlin, 1911), p. 48. Many Scandinavians seem to have used the eastern road through Germany by way of Braunschweig, Meiningen, Würzburg, and Schongau, and through the Brenner pass down to Verona.

[3] Kr. Kålund, *En Islandsk Vejviser for Pilgrimme fra 12 Århundrede*, Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk., 1913, p. 51.

72. Lund. Cathedral. Relief

73. Lund. Historiska Museet. Tympanum from Stangby

74. Verona. Cathedral. Detail of South Minor Portal. (*Ibid.*, Pl. 216, Fig. 5)

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75. Lund. Cathedral. Relief from the old West Façade. Majestas Domini. (Anderson, *Skånes Romanska Landskyrkor*, Fig. 107)

76. Lund. Cathedral. Sculpture of South Portal of Crypt. St. Michael. 1123–1131

77. Saxtorp. Detail from Font. Christus Pantokrator

which is for those who have travelled the road of St.-Gilles." It was a day's journey south of Piacenza to Borgo San Donnino; between the two lay Erik's Hospice, founded by King Erik Ejegod, where all visitors were fed. Then the road went to Rome through Lucca, where the same ruler had established another hospice where " each man of Danish speech should drink wine in sufficient quantity without paying for it." Those who continued to the Holy Land went through Benevento[1] into Apulia, which at that time was a curious mixture of Orient and Occident. Pilgrims gathered there to embark for the Holy Land from Bari, Barletta, or Brindisi.

When Jerusalem had been taken, peaceful pilgrims who wished to kneel at the shrines of the holy cities soon followed in the steps of the Crusaders. Even the Scandinavians were smitten with this wanderlust. The runic stones tell of journeys to Palestine; among the many great pilgrims of the twelfth century was the archbishop himself. The records in Lund tell of many who died on the way to the Holy Land, in Crete, or in Jerusalem. The main Nordic churches are to be linked with these movements which are themselves closely related to the continually increasing Byzantine influence in sculpture and painting. Ground plans, cupolas, and sculpture show that the North, at this time, about 1130–1150, was directly connected, by the monastic orders or by individual guest artists and pilgrims skilled in the art of building, with Aquitaine, the centre in which the various styles of art were mingled. In this part of France, whence builders and abbots were called to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, lay also one of Europe's most celebrated ports of embarkation for pilgrims to the Holy Land, namely, St.-Gilles.

The St.-Gilles [2] road through France went via Burgundy to the great abbey at the mouth of the Rhône, but many pilgrims preferred to continue along the coast route into Italy where, as mentioned above, they reached the

[1] The archbishop Adalbert of Bremen had the cathedral there built like the one at Benevento. During the twenty-fourth year of his administration, the walls were whitened and the Italian painter, Transmandus, decorated them with paintings. H. W. Rotermund, *Geschichte der Domkirche St. Petri zu Bremen* (Bremen, 1823), p. 26.

[2] The St.-Gilles road was the road through France and St.-Gilles. It lengthened the journey from the Alps to Schleswig by six weeks: "From the Jordan it is a full five days' voyage to Akrsborg (Akka), thence fourteen days on the sea to Apulia, that is 1800 miles, fourteen days' trip from Bari to Rome, a six weeks' journey northward to the Alps, and three weeks' voyage further northward to Hedeby (Schleswig). But eastward on the St.-Gilles road it is a nine weeks' journey" (Kålund, *op. cit.*, p. 61). It testifies to the position of Lund as a centre of influence that the name Aegidius, which is rare in Denmark, earliest appears in the centre of Skåne. In the year 1131 the right-hand altar in the crypt was dedicated to St. Blaise and St. Giles. Soon afterwards, St. Giles was introduced into the *Annales Colbazensis*, which were written in Lund. The churches at Södra Åsums and Allerum were dedicated to the saint. At Allerum the big bell shows St. Giles wearing the abbot's cap and his attribute, the hind, is at his feet. In upper Sweden we have the name Ilian (St. Giles) used several times in the diocese of Västerås. The relation of Småland to St.-Gilles is told in a letter dated June 30, 1271, in which King Waldemar commands the inhabitants of the districts Västbo and Östbo to use the taxes collected among them thereafter for St. Giles and his church, for the erection of an altar to St. Giles in the cathedral of Linköping, and for the maintenance of a yearly mass. It had happened that the people of Småland, when on their way to St.-Gilles with the money thus collected, were attacked and robbed of their treasure (*Dipl. Svec.*, vol. I, pp. 457, 458).

southern road at the Po between Pavia and Piacenza. But St.-Gilles was, above all, a meeting-place for all those who, on their way to or from Rome, wanted to go to St. James' in Galicia. At St.-Gilles the pilgrimage roads of northern and central Europe were joined with those of France and Spain to those for Italy and the Holy Sepulchre.

The Aquitanian traits in the south Scandinavian architecture and sculpture during the first half of the twelfth century are closely related to an indomitable desire to build churches of the Holy Sepulchre as similar as possible to those which the pilgrims had seen during their journeys to or from the Holy Land. The interest of the pilgrims is in accordance with the general character of the time and the movements within the Church. France became the leader, and those who thirsted after knowledge made their way to the French schools and the famous teachers there. St.-Gilles, instead of Taranto and Bari, became the port of embarkation. Europe was, at this time, one single family with countless branches held together by the great pilgrimage roads and the monastic orders from the Atlantic to Hungary, from Bari and Compostela to Sweden. Consequently Burgundy by its position as a thoroughfare and Cluny by dint of its spiritual dominion, became the great centres for the schools of building and art. From the Cluniac monasteries in Lund (built before 1089) and Schleswig, the gates led out to the great world, and we can apply with equal justice to the Scandinavians of the twelfth century Dehio's striking sentence,[1] " Die Lust an Pilgerfahrten war bei den Franzosen bis zur Leidenschaft entwickelt."

Note. After writing the above, I find that M. Bédier has shown that the *chansons de geste* are founded upon real occurrences of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially the crusades against the Moors in Spain, and that from the Charlemagne legends only a few facts and distorted names were borrowed. M. Boissonnade[2] points out how this cycle was localized near the pilgrimage roads to Compostela, and how it sprang up from the collaboration of clerks and jongleurs in the shadow of the abbeys that profited by this advertising.

Of the French crusades to Spain between 1017 and 1148, nineteen did not penetrate beyond the valley of the Ebro, where Bishop Turold, the supposed author of the Song of Roland, lays the scene for the exploits of his heroes. At the same time he was inspired by the Crusades to the East. M. Boissonnade dates the poem between 1100 and 1120.

It is quite natural, therefore, that this song should have also inspired the artists of the North, for the Scandinavians were among the most ardent

[1] Dehio u. von Bezold, *D. Kirchl. Baukunst des Abendlandes*, vol. I, p. 251.
[2] P. Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1923.

78. Soest. St. Peter. Tympanum of South Portal

79. Soest. St. Patroklus. Tympanum of North Portal

80. Skälfvum. Relief

81. Malt. Font

82. Skälfvum. Relief

83. Vä. Apsidal Fresco. Majestas Domini

84. Lackalanga. Apsidal Fresco. Majestas Domini

85. Öfraby. Apsidal Fresco. Majestas Domini

Crusaders to the East, and they also took part in the warfare against the Moors. In the winter of 1109–1110 Sigurd Jorsalafar, the king of Norway, was lying with sixty ships and ten thousand men off "Jacob's Land" (Compostela). When the provisions gave out, he marched to the castle of a nearby Spanish noble. The noble fled, Sigurd took a great spoil and then sailed on to help Henry of Burgundy take Cintra from the Moors. Later he fought at Alkasse, in the Straits of Gibraltar, and after important battles at the Balearic Islands, he went on to Sicily; there he stayed with Duke Roger (probably Roger Bursa of Apulia) until he proceeded on his journey to Jerusalem.

Another famous man of the North was Karl the Dane, count of Flanders. He was a son of St. Canute, the king who founded the cathedral of Lund, and of Edel (Adelasia, Hala, of whom more later); after his father's death in 1086, he was brought up by his grandfather, Count Robert of Flanders. Brave, good, adored by all, famous for his exploits in the Holy Land, he was offered the crown of Jerusalem in 1123. He was the perfect type of Christian hero, and M. Boissonnade[1] considers it very possible that his personality and exploits included him among those who inspired the author of the Song of Roland. He was a near relative of the aristocratic patrons of Turold: Bishop Barthélemy of Laon, the Counts of Burgundy, King Alfonso *El Batallador* of Aragon; he was also closely connected with Duke Henry I of Normandy.

His mother Edel had married again in 1092, her second husband being Roger Bursa of Apulia. This fact accounts for the close connection between Lund and Bari, whither Edel's brother-in-law, King Erik Ejegod, made a pilgrimage in 1098. At Bari, Erik probably met Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom we find a little later (about 1099–1103) in correspondence with Asher, Archbishop of Lund, and certainly it was there that he obtained the relics of St. Nicholas which he sent home to Denmark. When the relics of St. Canute were translated to Odense in 1101, Edel sent costly presents from Apulia for the decoration of the shrine. In this connection it is interesting to compare the relief (about 1123–1130) on the church of Dalby, near Lund (a detail of the Arthurian legend?) with the archivolt figures on the Porta della Pescheria (1099–1106) of the cathedral of Modena, and with the Porta dei Leoni (1098) at S. Niccola in Bari.[2]

Kautzsch[3] considers the second and third form-groups of the cathedral of Speyer (approximately 1095–1106) to be the work of Lombard artists who worked not only there and at Mainz, but later at Lund. It seems to me,

[1] P. Boissonnade, *Du Nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1923, p. 355.

[2] Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, vol. I, pp. 59–70, and Roger S. Loomis, *Modena, Bari, and Hades*, in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. VI, pp. 71–74.

[3] R. Kautzsch, *Der Dom zu Speier*, Stadeljahrbuch, I, 1921, pp. 75–108.

however, that the central cupola and outer galleries of Speyer [1] are so similar to those of S. Niccola (1087–1105) and the cathedral of Bari (1078–1156),[2] that the motives must have come from Apulia. May not this be due to the fact that Duke Konrad, the elder son of the Emperor Henry IV, married in 1095 the daughter of Duke Roger of Sicily?

[1] Paul Frankl, *Die Frühmittelalterliche und Romanische Baukunst* (Potsdam, 1926), p. 189.
[2] Karl Schmaltz, *Mater Ecclesiarum* (Strassburg, 1918), pp. 418–423.

LEONARDO'S TERRA-COTTA GROUP IN THE BARGELLO

1. Florence. Museo Nazionale. Group B. Terra-cotta

2. Paris. Louvre. Camondo Collection. Group A, detail

LEONARDO'S TERRA-COTTA GROUP IN THE BARGELLO

By RAYMOND S. STITES

In my article, *Leonardo da Vinci, Sculptor*, in *Art Studies, IV*, I mentioned a terra-cotta group in the Bargello formerly belonging to the German antiquary Brauer. Through the kindness of Director Giovanni Poggi and Professor Odoardo H. Giglioli of the Uffizi, I am now able to publish photographs of this piece (Figs. 1 and 3).[1]

It is a light brown-rose terra-cotta covered with a thin layer of chalky material, which I believe to be some mixture of plaster of Paris. Over this is a coat of dark-brown paint that has, in spots, a finish indicating that the sculpture was made to imitate a bronze with a dark lacquer patina. A more careful examination of the group makes me revise my earlier opinion of the queer turban and attribute only the tail of the horse to an inferior assistant.

This group is much more damaged than that in the Camondo collection: the toes and right arm of the mounted warrior have been broken; the neck of the turbaned man is repaired; the edge of the base is hacked away. The kinship of the work to the Camondo group is nevertheless clear enough in matters of size, structure, material, composition, and general spirit. The Camondo group (Fig. 2) seems of finer finish because the Florentine parallel has suffered the loss of much of its plaster covering, as can be seen in a detail (Fig. 3).

While the attribution of these two groups to Leonardo is necessarily subjective, there is objective evidence for it in the background of his Adoration of the Magi. Of the two horsemen there engaged in combat (Fig. 4), the one on the right is a close parallel to the rider in the Camondo collection; the one on the left is clothed like the Bargello rider, in a robe with upper part belted to form a blouse, and holds before him a circular shield like that under the Bargello horse and that held by the fleeing soldier of the Camondo group. All four horses rear upon their heavy hind quarters, as is common in Leonardo's sketches (Fig. 6). It is true that in the Adoration the horses turn their heads away as if reluctant to fight, but in Leonardo's description of a battle [2] and in the sketch (presumably by Rubens) of the Anghiari cartoon [3] the horses are represented as fully sharing the militant passion of the men.

[1] Width, 45 cm.; height, 45.5 cm.; depth, 22.5 cm.

[2] Maria Herzfeld, *Traktat von der Malerei, Leonardo da Vinci* (Jena Diederichs, 1925), p. 125. "*Du könntest ein Pferd leicht und ledig dahinlaufen lassen, mit im Winde flatternder Mahne, es rennt unter die Feinde und richtet mit seinen Hufen viel Unheil an.*"

[3] Adolfo Venturi, *Leonardo da Vinci Pittore*, in *Pubblicazioni dell' Istituto di Studii Vinciani in Roma* (Bologna, Neri, 1920), vol. II, Fig. 113.

A composition sketch for the Adoration of the Magi in the collection of drawings at the Uffizi lacks the battle of horsemen.[1] Horses appear in the background of the sketch, but they are at play. The dates in connection with this unfinished picture seem valuable in determining the age of the two groups. In 1481 the commission for the picture was received from the monks of San Donato of Scopeto. It was to be finished within thirty months. Twenty years later, as Poggi has pointed out,[2] Leonardo had not yet completed the work. The contract was then given Filippino Lippi. Strzygowski,[3] Meller,[4] Bode,[5] and others are of the opinion that Leonardo worked upon the picture at various times between 1481 and 1501, and this opinion seems to me substantiated by the following evidence.

In a recent number of *Belvedere*, Möller [6] has brought together a wealth of material which seems to show that Leonardo da Vinci had a rather large head with a medium high rounded forehead, and a mesocephalic index, i.e., neither outspokenly long or wide cranium. He habitually wore a long flowing beard, perhaps to mask a rather protrusive lower jaw. The various heads which Möller illustrates approximate the type in Leonardo's drawing of an old man, supposedly himself, seated and leaning on a staff (Fig. 7). In the early sketch for the Adoration in the collection of drawings at the Louvre,[7] the figures of two bearded monks may be seen in the left middle ground. Their heads, although only indicated, are not like that of Fig. 7. In the picture as it now exists these two figures have been brought into the left foreground (Fig. 5). One figure which is no longer bearded has become a very definite personality. He has a face like that of the second angel in Verrocchio's Baptism (Fig. 8), grown older. He appears again and again in the works of Leonardo's confrere, Lorenzo di Credi. Contrasted with this individual, the very consummation of pessimism, is the foremost figure whose head is that of the philosopher of Fig. 7. Venturi has called attention to this head, which he believes to be an idealization of Leonardo as a philosopher. Idealized self portraits of artists painted in their pictures as a rule show the artists either younger or of the same age in which the pictures are painted. There is no reason to believe that Leonardo would break this rule. His portrait here is that of a man of about fifty years. From this I conclude that parts of the picture must have been painted as late as the second Florentine period, i.e., at the time of the Battle of Anghiari and the Mona Lisa.

[1] Venturi, *op. cit.*, Fig. 49.

[2] Giovanni Poggi, *La Tavola di Filippino Lippi per San Donato di Scopeto e l'Adorazione dei Magi di Leonardo da Vinci*, in *Rivista d'Arte* VII, 1910.

[3] Josef Strzygowski, *Studien zu Leonardo's Entwicklung als Maler*, in *Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XVI, 1895.

[4] Simon Meller, *Jahrbuch der K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXVII, 1916.

[5] Wilhelm von Bode, *Studien über Leonardo da Vinci*, page 71.

[6] Emil Möller, *Wie sah Leonardo aus*, in *Belvedere*, no. 44, 1926.

[7] Venturi, *op. cit.*, Fig. 44.

3. Florence. Museo Nazionale. Group B, detail

4. Florence. Uffizi Gallery. Section of Background, Adoration of the Magi. Leonardo da Vinci. (Alinari phot.)

5. Florence. Uffizi Gallery. Adoration of the Magi, detail. Leonardo da Vinci. (Alinari phot.)

6. Venice. Academy. Drawing. Leonardo da Vinci

7. Windsor Castle. Self Portrait. Leonardo da Vinci

On October 24, 1503, Leonardo was given the key to the Sala del Papa in Santa Maria Novella where he was to prepare the cartoon for the Battle of Anghiari. The general terms of the contract were settled on the first of May, 1504. In February, 1505, the artist had finished the cartoon and was engaged in constructing a scaffold for transferring it to the wall of the Sala del Gran Consiglio in the Palazzo Vecchio. The three sketches in the Academy at Venice are generally held to have been made in the preparation of the cartoon. In the lower right hand corner of Fig. 9, two horsemen are engaged in fighting with a number of warriors on the ground. Of these two, the left rider is similar to the rider on the left in the Adoration and to his parallel, the rider in the Bargello group. A similar horseman appears at the extreme left of the lower band of figures. In the second sketch (Fig. 10), the horseman with the upraised arm suggests the rider in the Bargello. Like the left rider in the Adoration, his shield is circular. Almost all the figures in the sketches are nude, contrasting with the clothed figures in the sketch attributed to Rubens. In these first sketches the horses are not bellicose. In the third sketch (Fig. 11), the horses are at last engaged. This is nearest in type to the completed cartoon as we know it through Rubens. The head of the rider in the Bargello group with forward-flying locks is very similar to that of the left horseman in the Adoration. It also suggests the head of Michelangelo's David (Fig. 16).

Among Leonardo's notes are several telling of the way to depict a battle, one of which was quoted in the preceding article. A further statement on the same theme tells us that "between the feet of the fighting men must be shown pieces of weapons such as broken lances, swords, and shields." One of the private groups by Rustici (illustrated in my earlier article) shows the remains of a broken sword in the foreground, the other, two spent cannon balls. These do not appear either in the sketches of Leonardo or in that of the cartoon. Their presence in the work by Rustici would seem to indicate that he was acquainted not only with the cartoon, but also with the precepts of the master.

From these facts, I am induced to regard the two groups as having been made between the first two Venetian sketches and the finished cartoon, that is, about the year 1504.

Vasari is witness to the fact that models were made of plaster of Paris in Verrocchio's studio. He tells us that casts were made of arms, hands, and other parts of the body. By this same method, Verrocchio formed portraits of people who had died, which were colored and placed up on mantelpieces or looking out of windows. His Baptism in the Uffizi (Fig. 8) suggests that the models were also used in composing his pictures. The upraised arm of the Baptist seems to have been copied from a cast suspended on a wall.

The eyes turn from this obvious use of a model to the rocks so neatly piled on one another in the middle background, or on the banks of the stream directly behind the staff of the saint. Less apparent, but nevertheless artificial, is the treatment of the bank under the kneeling angel which is generally believed to have been painted by Leonardo. The angel and this base of flat stones appear to have been painted by the same careful hand contrasting with the rougher work in other parts of the picture. On folio 324 recto of the *Codex Atlanticus* is a list of materials in the possession of Leonardo when he left Florence to go to Milan. Among the many sketches (*disegni*), instruments, "a head of Christ made with a pen," etc., are noted "*molte tesste di vechi*," "*una nostra donna finita*," "*una storia di passione fatta in forma*," "*la tessta di nosstra donna che va in cielo*," "*una tessta di putta chon trezzie ranodate*," and "*molte bracia ganbe piedi e attitudine.*" Girolami Calvi,[1] commenting on the above, calls attention to Verrocchio's use of models and the fact that Leonardo was a sculptor. Vasari mentions several works in terra-cotta. The fact that some of the material is designated as work in pen, or as "*disegni*," leaves the possibility that many of the heads and limbs are models in the round (as was, I judge, the "*storia di passione fatta in forma*").

I am inclined to believe that Leonardo must have used to some extent the model method in studying the effects of light and shade, helping to originate the method of drawing from plaster casts used in our art instruction today. The use of the flat rocks as a base for a figure, which has already been noted in the Baptism, is also to be found in Leonardo's Madonna of the Rocks. It occurs again in the foreground of the St. Anne Madonna and in sketches for geological studies at Windsor.[2] We see it again in the Camondo group, and it may have been present in the Bargello group, which, I think, may, with a fair degree of reason, be accepted as models made to help in the preparation of the Battle of Anghiari.

Other drawings by Leonardo (Figs. 12–15) illustrate his power of expression when using the horse as a medium. In these drawings we find the same proportions and the same accentuation of those parts of the body which convey the impression of movement that we find in the two terra-cotta groups. Leonardo's precept here furnishes the best commentary: "In Histories make foreshortenings of every kind, as they come to you, especially in battles; for here are endless movements of bodies and the combatants twist in such confusion that the most bestial madness is necessary."

The art of Leonardo as revealed in the sketches is, in the nomenclature of Verworn, highly ideoplastic.[3] The equestrian sketches and the terra-cotta

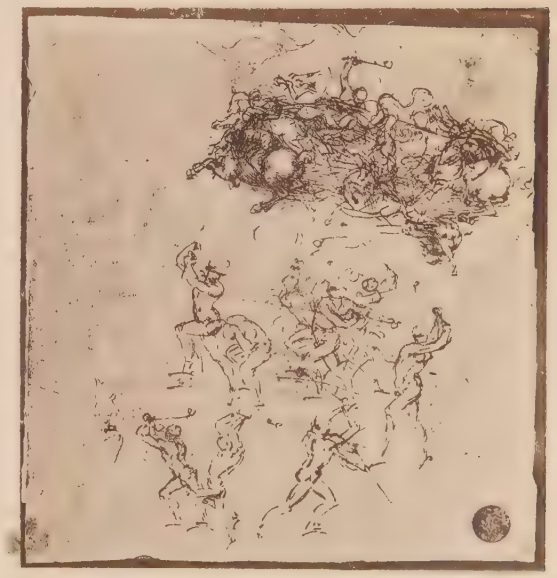
[1] *I Manoscritti di Leonardo da Vinci*, in *Pub. dell'Istituto Vinciano in Roma*, 1925, Fig. 26, pp. 54 ff.

[2] Venturi, *op. cit.*, Figs. 72–101.

[3] Max Verworn, *Ideoplastische Kunst*, pp. 40 ff.

8. Florence. Uffizi Gallery. Baptism of Christ. Verrocchio. (Alinari phot.)

9. Venice. Academy. Sketch. Leonardo da Vinci

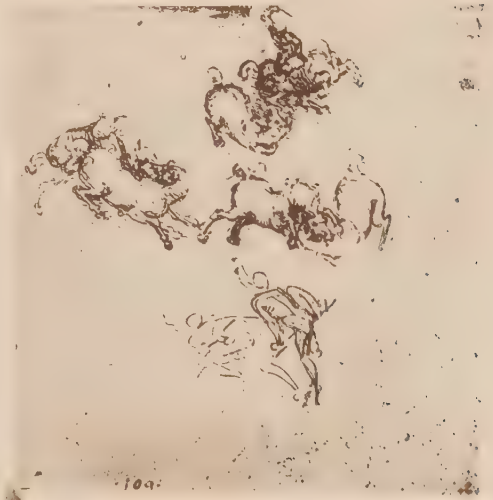


10. Venice. Academy. Sketch. Leonardo da Vinci

11. Venice. Academy. Sketch. Leonardo da Vinci

12. Windsor Castle. Drawing. Leonardo da Vinci

13. Windsor Castle. Drawing. Leonardo da Vinci



14. Windsor Castle. Drawing. Leonardo da Vinci

15. Windsor Castle. Studies of a Left Foreleg of a Horse.
Leonardo da Vinci

16. Florence. Head of David.
Michelangelo

17. Milan. Biblioteca Ambrosiana.
Cod. Atlanticus. Leonardo da Vinci

18. Milan. Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Cod. Atlanticus.
Leonardo da Vinci

groups agree in naturalistic handling, bodily proportion, and knowledge of anatomy. The sketches of fighting men at Budapest and Oxford have facial expressions like those of the fighters in the terra-cotta groups. In respect to these naturalistic details, the groups must be reckoned very high as physio-plastic creations. They are worthy of that sublime judgment of Hans Sachs on all great art: "*Kein Regel wollte da passen . . .*"

A study on folio 42 verso of the *Codex Atlanticus* (Fig. 17) shows a possible origin for the treatment of the hair. This profile of a distinctly classic type may have been copied from some Roman coin or antique statue. Studies for a standard, also from the *Codex Atlanticus* (Fig. 18), suggest the handling of the tail of the horse in the Camondo group.

The naturalist Leonardo, intent upon the action of the water (Fig. 7), remarks in the accompanying notes: "Observe the motion of the surface of the water which resembles that of hair . . . forming eddying whirlpools." This underlying motion is repeated in many of his sketches and represents at times the scorching flames of the Last Judgment, the destructive power of a tempest, or the soft tresses of a woman's hair. In the terra-cotta groups it gives their peculiar life to the manes of the horses.[1]

[1] The addition of the photograph of the Camondo group (Fig. 2) to this article is due to the kindness of the authorities at the Louvre who allowed me to experiment with the lighting on it last summer. It is one of the detailed studies for a forthcoming book on the sculpture of Leonardo da Vinci.

OLIBA DE RIPOLL

1. Rome. Vatican Library. *Cod. Lat.* 5729, fol. 369v.

OLIBA DE RIPOLL

(971–1046)

By JOSEPH PIJOAN

It is perhaps rewarding to reconstruct the story of a man whose personal writings, even in fragmentary survival, give us the clue to a strong personality. Only small portions remain of the letters of Oliba de Ripoll, and of the scientific works which we know he could have produced we have no trace. He was one of those who have attained greater glory through the sacrifice of their own interests for a social work, than if they had devoted their time exclusively to study. They believed that they were sacrificing their lives for the world but in so doing they have won reputation and glory, for their names will endure longer than their work could have lived.

We are told that St. Francis once had a dream in which he saw himself in the midst of his brethren and before him a table covered with little pieces of bread, so small that not one of them was large enough to bite. St. Francis heard a voice telling him to make a cake with these morsels and afterward to break it and divide it among his brethren according to the needs of each. The saint interpreted the dream to mean that he was to assemble all his examples, teachings and advice and make of them a Rule for the Order which might be broken and divided as a wafer even after his death. St. Francis died but the wafer thus made could not remain unchanged. His brothers were fortunate in having not only the Rule, but also the little crumbs that some of the first disciples had kept untouched in imitation of the Gospels of Christ.

Sometimes the method of embodying in doctrine the spiritual experiences which have come intermittently day by day, impairs the value of the whole, and the dough is spoiled if yeast is added a second time. Who knows what interest there might have been for us in the works of Oliba, the great abbot of Ripoll ("Pater Patriae," as his sons in the ministry sadly called him at his death), or the personal teachings of this *Pater Eximius*, as the chronicle calls him, if forgetting the needs of the people, he had devoted himself to scholarly discipline?

But nine centuries have elapsed; for our narrative we must depend upon a few extant letters of the many he wrote and received: one insignificant sermon; a little treatise; short fragments of poetry — all very meagre, but most precious because they reveal to us his inspiring sacrifice. In addition

to a complete schooling in ecclesiastical and rhetorical matters, he had an exceptional knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, which was most unusual in those days. He might, if he had wished, have spent his life studying at home surrounded by his family, among whom were men of extraordinary ability. His father was Count Oliba, the *Goat.* He received this nickname, because he had a habit of scratching the earth with his foot; so runs the tale in his family chronicle, now known as the *Chronicle St. Victor de Marseille*, and published by Baluze, under the title of *Gesta Comitum.* Possibly this name was given also because he had thick reddish hair and a long beard like that of a goat. His grandfather, Wilfridus, founder of the house of Barcelona, was a very hairy man. Reddish and hairy were the mummies of the two Berengarii buried at Ripoll, and his nephew Raimundus was called *Head of Flax.* Fair were the Aragonian kings of a later day, James and Peter of the Sicilian Vespers.

The *Goat* was Count of Besalú because his father had divided the Barcelona estates among the three sons and he received what was at that time the best and safest part of the Marca: all the land from the sea, from Ampurias and Gerona along to the Pyrenees at the west to the boundary of Urgell, including in this section all the Cerdanya, the Bergadá and the valleys of Olot, Ribes and Camprodón, etc. Over these valleys and mountains the old *Goat* would journey, accompanied by his sons, one of whom must have been of extraordinary stature and strength since he was called Taillafer (*Scilicet Scindens Ferrum*). The next was called Wilfridus, a name traditional in the family; the third is an obscure person, *Miro,* who later became bishop of Elna; the fourth was the Abbot Oliba, the subject of this story. Unlike their ancestors, who were given to passionate fury, these four lads seem to have tempered their strength with restraint. Taillafer, the strong and stubborn hero, is praised in the documents *in armis et consilio,* and his son, a fat boy, is said to have been very conscientious and prudent. Abbot Oliba was commended for his *moderamina mente* by his correspondent, Gaucelinus of Fleury. All the evil seems to have been concentrated in the two daughters of the *Goat.* One was called Ingilberta, who became abbess of St. John, and will appear farther on in this story as causing her brothers no little trouble by her untoward conduct; the other daughter, Adelaide, married a man of inferior station.

The four brothers shared with the old *Goat* the hardships which those strenuous times forced upon them. They had seen the Moors retake Barcelona for a brief period and overrun their land which they controlled as much like landlords as warriors. We may be sure that it was the little boy Oliba, rather than the other three, who followed his father to the Feasts of Consecration of new churches which the old man rarely missed. When he was only thirteen

years old Oliba signed the Act of Consecration of the church of Bagá, and in 977, though still a child, he attended the Feast of Consecration of the church of Besalú, also that of Serrateix, and in the same year he must have been present at a great feast at Ripoll, when the works begun by Abbot Arnulfus were completed.

The old *Goat* took pains to multiply the Benedictine monasteries on the land under his care, realizing what a blessing such an increase would be to the people happily freed from the Moorish yoke.

At the school of Ripoll and Vich, the strange monk, Gerbert, who later was promoted almost against his will to the first dignity of the Church, completed his education. The old *Goat* probably took advantage of that bond. He and his sons knew the wisest methods of dealing with Rome and how to obtain favors through his relations there for the benefit of his country. Neither the old *Goat*, nor Taillafer, nor Oliba met any obstacles in obtaining a Bull or a privilege or an appointment from the Popes. When documents they desired were late in arriving they would go to Rome in person, as Rome was at that time the best place to transact public affairs, and the only power which was dreaded at the Marca. It is certain that the *Goat* and Oliba and Taillafer made several journeys to Rome. We know in astonishing detail from the monastic chronicles of Italy and France all the particulars of the last journey of the old man as he travelled thither on foot with his illustrious company.

At least four left Cuxá for Italy — the old *Goat*, a nobleman of Venice called John Gradenicus, another Venetian, San Romualdus, and the abbot of Cuxá, Guarinus, *qui peregrinatiorum amans erat.* Before he left, the *Goat* gave power of attorney to his son Taillafer and seemed glad to be rid of affairs and at liberty to wander as he wished. After many vicissitudes on their way through Italy, the pilgrims reached Monte Cassino, the central abbey of the Benedictine Order — on the way from Rome to Naples. Even to-day, we may see what extraordinary people they were, for the monks of Monte Cassino preserve the tradition of the visit of the Catalan prince, *comes Olibanus.* The *Goat* was a guest at Monte Cassino for one year and presented the abbey with many gifts.

The companions of the pilgrim preferred to continue their journey. The *Goat*, who seems to have been older than the others, often tried to retain them. He was loth to lose his companions, but the wind was blowing strong on these spiritual souls. Guarinus did not stop but went to Jerusalem. As Gradenicus was departing, he fell off his horse and, breaking his leg, was unable to move. He saw in this event a sign from Heaven and made a little shack to live in as a beggar on the site of the accident, midway on the steep road that leads from the plain to Monte Cassino. San Romualdus finally

went into the wilderness to found the severe Order of the Camandules. Probably the *Goat* and Guarinus would have been compelled to return alone had they not chanced in Italy upon a still more extraordinary companion, in the person of the doge Peter Urseolus, the builder of St. Mark's and the founder, in a certain degree, of the maritime power of his city. It is possible that the old *Goat* induced his new friend to come to the Marca by telling him of the beauties of the abbey of Cuxá, which then had the reputation of being a retired place, and that Peter Urseolus stole away one night alone and in secret. Guarinus and Oliba were waiting for him on the mainland with horses ready for flight. The night was well advanced when the man who for a few years had been the virtual ruler of Venice reached the shore — not in his gilded boat, but in a humble gondola. . . . And from this moment the regenerate Urseolus confined his efforts to preparations for entering the Kingdom of Heaven. After a brief sojourn at the manor of the *Goat* at Besalú and at rural Ix in the Cerdanya meadows, Peter Urseolus went directly to Cuxá where he died in sanctity, setting an excellent example of peace as he had of activity in the early years of his life. He was canonized in the time of Abbot Oliba, who strove to imitate Urseolus in building well, in strengthening his people, and even died like him at Cuxá in the peaceful solitude of the mountains.

* * *

The century had been one of profound upheaval with resultant strain and stress. Feverish attempts had been made to restore once more the classical world. In this the builders had trodden the path of Visigothic culture tending toward the emulation of antiquity. They were also following French Carolingian ideals, which to-day we call the Carolingian Renaissance. When the princes of the Marca erected buildings in the tenth century, they were trying to imitate the large Roman vaults and classic orders, superimposing columns one on another, with capitals Corinthian in type.

As is frequently the case, however, the people of the Marca who in the tenth century were striving for a restoration of the past, were in reality creating an original world. They themselves would have been surprised could they have seen the strange results of their learning and of their warring. The founders of the new Catalan State, Suinardus of Barcelona, Miro of Gerona, the *Goat* of Besalú, Arnulfus of Ripoll, Guarinus of Cuxá, would have considered their labor lost if they could have seen the new century wholly given over to the new-born Romanesque.

Some, who, like the *Goat*, had come with the close of the century, would have been eager to withdraw from the world to give place to the new generation. They were too strong to accept the changes without opposition, and were too great not to respect the new spirit at work. As wild goats and

eagles look for a retired hiding place where they may die, so the old *Goat* of Besalú went to the remotest part of his possessions, near the western boundary, where he had the monastery of Serrateix. There he has remained to this day and it is strange that his sons, who took great pride in burial monuments and epitaphs, did not take him to Ripoll, but left him at rest at Serrateix in a tomb with no inscription.

When the *Goat* was buried, his sons had no difficulty in dividing the estate, since two of them were about to enter monastic life. Of these, Oliba did not make profession until twelve years later, and this period, from 990 when his father died until 1002 when he was given ecclesiastical orders at Ripoll, is one of the most obscure of his life.

Anno 1002 Dominus Oliba, abbas et episcopus venit in conversionem, relates a chronicle of the Carmine convent of Barcelona, which is now lost but which had previously been copied. It is the first authentic date of the life of Oliba and confirms the others, especially the tradition that he was born in 971, because it proves that Oliba was not young and had had a certain amount of experience when he entered the monastery. Five years later, in 1008, he was elected abbot after the death of Seniofredus.

Oliba could not have been a stranger at Ripoll. It is difficult to believe that the *Goat* had sent this boy of scholarly inclination to the *scriptorium* of Bages as modern tradition would have it, when he had in his own land the center of high culture, Ripoll, with the active research work which was being carried on there at the end of the century. It is probable, however, that Oliba spent a part of his time at the home of his cousin at Barcelona, because in the future capital there was already a keen interest in law, which later produced the new code of the Uses or *Usatges*.

It is certain that when Oliba entered the monastery at Ripoll he was already *persona grata* to all the abbey, knew individually the tombs of his ancestors who were resting there, and was even more familiar with the list of the one hundred and eleven books in the library. And when, six years later, Oliba was appointed abbot of Ripoll, the election must have been pleasing to everyone, especially to his relatives of Besalú, as we see them sharing in the administration of other similar offices. We see, for instance, the widow of the *Goat* appointing the abbot of Serrateix, and the son of Taillafer taking an inventory of Ripoll at the death of Oliba, as if Ripoll were his personal property rather than the historic sanctuary of the Marca.

From 1008, when Oliba was elected abbot of Ripoll, to 1018, when he added to this office that of bishop of Vich, are ten years which he devoted to strengthening the monastery and replenishing its coffers. Only once we find him away from Ripoll, and then only to assist in the consecration of the

church of Sant Martí del Canigó, newly built by his brother on the spot where he murdered his own son. The work lasted six years. It was in the fall, when the meadows of the Pyrenees are still green, when, as the shepherds say, it is colder in the plain than on the hills, *in vigilia Sancti Martini*, that a great throng of the people of Besalú gathered on the mountain. Guarinus, the builder of Cuxá, was dead; probably Oliba or someone from Ripoll drew up the plans for the new building — which clings, to this day, to the border of the cliff with that great giant, Mount Canigó, looking down upon it.

Except for this event, however, Oliba spent his time in acquiring privileges for the abbey, using his personal influence to make Ripoll the chief monastery of the Marca. He received from Rome one Bull after another; some were concerned with purely ecclesiastical monopolies, such as the one permitting singing there on certain days when everywhere else the silence was canonical. Others were simply business documents, as for example, the Bull granting land to Ripoll in the county of Cerdanya.

Aut circiter 1012, Oliba made his journey to Rome. Certainly it must have been during the pontificate of Benedictus VIII, who was well informed about Oliba and commanded him several times to dispatch difficult commissions. *Adiens nos*, said the Pope once on missing him. In another document, the Pope expresses regret that he can not speak with him.

There follow a few years of peace for Oliba, a few years of quiet, unobtrusive work, awakening souls, ordering studies, in order to create the *pépinière* of scholars which during his rule was the *scriptorium* of Ripoll. The library grew to include two hundred and twenty-eight volumes, which are found in the inventory taken at his death, Oliba having doubled the number that he found there when he took possession.

Some of the books of the former generation are still preserved in Spain and from time to time new information comes to light in other books of Ripoll scattered over the world. Only a few years ago Professor John M. Burham of Cincinnati traced to an original of Ripoll, twin manuscripts of the Escorial, where for the first time in the Occident the Hindu-Arabic numerals appear. They are two manuscripts dated 976 and 992, proving that the *scriptorium* had been issuing editions of the same manuscript for at least twenty years. The original must have been much older. Burham suggests that perhaps the Arabs of Spain learned the numerals from Ripoll. East or West, again, who can tell? . . . Another extraordinary manuscript from Ripoll of the time preceding the rule of Oliba is the precious book on astronomy which contains the chronicle of Ripoll best known as the *Chronicle St. Victor de Marseille*. Ripoll was afterwards united with St. Victor, and the French monks evidently took this manuscript with them. It was sold in the seventeenth century and went to the library of the Queen of Sweden. It is to-day

one of the most precious *Reginensis* of the Vatican. I have reproduced the beautiful miniatures of planets and constellations; with the exception of Byzantium no other place in tenth century Europe could boast such a work. But the glory of Ripoll must have been the *Biblias*, of which there were four copies in Ripoll at the time of the death of Oliba. I identify as a *Rivipollensis* the gigantic book in the Vatican known as the *Biblia di Farfa*, of which we shall speak farther on. The *Biblia di Farfa* is one of the most completely illustrated Biblical texts, almost a *Biblia Pauperum* of the tenth century. What a vast erudition, what profound insight into the text the miniatures reveal! A book like this could not be made without thorough research. We find at Ripoll also at this time commentaries of the Fathers and records of particular interest relative to the Spanish Church, like the books of Claude of Turin against the heresy of Felix of Urgell, and several editions of Isidorus. Ripoll possessed Bede, Cassiodorus, Boethius, four grammars of Donatus and twelve of Priscianus and Priscianellus for the students.

Ripoll was also rich in the texts of profane authors. Very rare books of arithmetic, agrimensura, and music were more numerous there than in the catalogues of Bovio, Reichenau and St. Gall. It possessed three Virgil manuscripts, two of Horatius, Terentius, Tullius, Juvenal. There was also *De Bello Judaico* of Josephus, and the *Gesta Julii*.

Some of those books were obtained with great pains. There is a record in one of the manuscripts of Ripoll, an *ex-libris*, telling us how the monks Senderedus and Suniardus went to Italy to correct the text of Ripoll which was not so good as one of the manuscripts in the cathedral of Naples. It is therefore just that the copyist ask for the only reward the reader of the future can offer those pious editors, a prayer, an expression of gratitude! At other times the *levita* or *scriba* would demand anathema for the one who might try to steal the book or for him who might even tear out one leaf: *quis erum furaverit, aut folia abscidera anathema fuit.* What would those unfortunate scribes say if they could see their books to-day, scattered and reduced in number and most of them in Barcelona, terribly mutilated by many successive bindings!

In Oliba's time the books were cared for tenderly, as is evidenced by one of his letters excommunicating those who still retained documents stolen from Ripoll during his predecessor's rule. That letter is posterior to the conventual life of the abbot. It is signed by him as bishop of Vich, but the disappearance of those parchments from the archives of Ripoll could have been noticed by Oliba only in the days when, alone with his monks, he was directing the studies of the *scriptorium* toward the new subject of historical research.

It was in the time of Oliba, when Ripoll was ruled by a prince of the land, that work was begun there upon the historical compilations. Besides the

Gesta Comitum already mentioned, Bofarull tells us he had seen *un cronicón más antiguo que no es el publicado. . . .* Yepes is asking for data from a *martirologium* peculiar to Ripoll and finds much information in the green book — *liber viridis* — now also lost. Still older were other volumes studied by Boades for his historical compendium.

The learned monks of Ripoll won fame for their erudition throughout Europe, and the admiration especially of France.

I translate from Mabillon, who speaks of the studies at Fleury directed in the year 1013 by Abbot Gaucelinus, a figure parallel to Oliba of Ripoll. At that time, he says, there arrived at Fleury two noble Spanish brothers, born at Barcelona, and one of them, John, when very young had been literally stuffed at Ripoll (*sacris imbutus litteris*) with sacred literature. The other, Bernardus, left the army and his sweethearts and came with his brother to Fleury professing as a monk in this monastery. Of the younger we know nothing further; but John must have been an exceptional man, taking the place of Gaucelinus when he died, keeping always on good terms with Ripoll, and corresponding the while with Oliba. Those Barcelona youths very likely served to reinforce the friendship of Gaucelinus and Oliba and contributed much by their praises to strengthen this brotherhood of the two abbots which nine centuries later is still a subject of wonder to us. The strong devotion of one great man to another, so rare at all times, is most touching in those years when of all relations the family bonds seem especially to have been strained by the tribulations of the day.

Gaucelinus, *nobilissime francorum princeps*, was related to the royal family of France, just as Oliba, through his ancestors of Besalú, was connected with the Barcelona and Urgell houses. Like Oliba, Gaucelinus was at the same time bishop and abbot, and he believed the latter title to be the more honorable. Like Oliba he had several flocks *grex bipartitus*, and as was true of Oliba also, his dearest possessions were books.

The correspondence between the two abbots is preserved only in fragments; here and there letters have, however, unexpectedly been found. First Baluze, then Flores, and lately Beer have published the remaining fragments. The Frenchman says: "Your very name Oliba, brings me peace. . . . God give you strength in full measure. Long may your face shine . . . with light reflected from heaven." From this allusion to the radiant countenance of Oliba we may gather that Oliba and Gaucelinus had met before, and that the Spanish abbot had that precious gift of personal attraction, the power of conquering others by his very presence. *Qui aptus sit ad lucrandas animas*, as St. Benedict says, is an almost essential attribute of a good abbot and Oliba seems to have had this quality.

Gaucelinus and Oliba wrote as friends, sharing their mutual sorrows.

When Oliba's brother died the Frenchman wrote him a letter of sympathy; the Catalan replied almost immediately. Some of their letters of reciprocal admiration were in verse, in difficult metres and in acrostics.

It was while he was engaged in these literary tournaments and occupied with the more serious studies in the *scriptorium* of Ripoll, that Oliba saw the clouds gather for the tragic dispute between his brother Taillafer and his sister the abbess of St. John. The monastery of St. John, in a valley next to Ripoll, had also been founded by Wilfridus *Pilosus*, in the early days of the Reconquest. The monastery was rich and possessed of too many privileges not to awaken the cupidity of a man like Taillafer, who was eager to extend his influence there and advance toward Ripoll and Vich. Taillafer at first attempted negotiations with Ingilberta in the hope of forcing her to acknowledge the sovereign of Besalú, but finding his scheme unsuccessful, he broke with her scornfully, dishonored his sister and rendered her homeless.

It is plain that Oliba wanted to interfere as little as possible; he merely wrote to his sister recalling to her the oath which she had made to defend the rights of her abbey to the end. On the other hand, Taillafer gave him no opportunity to interfere; the count of Besalú hurried to Rome and in twenty days succeeded in influencing the Pope to send a call for the abbess, to have a sort of trial to obtain judgment against her in default, and then to command that the nuns be expelled from the abbey and replaced by monks of Taillafer's choice. And further still, he secured the right to create another bishopric in his lands and to make a cathedral of any church he wished. Rome is eternal, but given the moment of action, she brooks no delay.

A scandalous affair like this could not go on without protest from Oliba, the Good Shepherd. This he offered calmly and with some caution, in order not to endanger his beloved flock at Ripoll. Possibly he also saw the need for reform — the nuns were living at St. John with the customs and morality of an age long past. Very likely the men of the previous century had not been afraid of the *parricidium*, obscenity, impudicity — *horrificam infamiam* was the Pope's phrase for that abbey. In that period of the origin of the state it was impossible to demand complete control of human passions, and the qualities of will, strength and initiative were esteemed above immobility, tolerance and sensibility.

Taillafer justified his ambition with the new principles of order, moderation and respect which were to be the principles of the new century. The land was won from the Moors; the new law was to rule. Oliba did not fight, but allowed his brother to expropriate his sister . . . he did not raise power against power, inciting discord. Moreover, Ripoll, the home of many lawyers, should have been the champion of reform. If Oliba had been too eager and opposed Taillafer, certainly he would not the following year have been appointed

bishop of Vich, and so would have lost the opportunity of benefiting the land. Taillafer could not but gain by the appointment of Oliba to the mitre of Vich. The lord of Besalú signed himself by the new title of count of Ripoll, and this was not mere bravado. From Ripoll to the south, the boundary between the Besalú and the Barcelona estates was far from clear. On this side nothing could stem his peaceful advance, for, up to this time, the reigning house of Barcelona had declined until there remained only an irascible widower, Ermesendis, and a little boy, Berengarius, who fortunately died young. The historians of the *Gesta Comitum* dispatched him with four words of disrespect.

Oliba, at any rate, did not take the part of his brother in aiding his new masters at Barcelona. Hardly had he obtained the mitre when he gave Ermesendis sovereignty over the churches of Torelló as far as the boundary. He went to Cardona and with Ermesendis he there directed canonical affairs. In the following year Oliba and Ermesendis again met at Manresa for a matter of difficult administration. The Moors had burned all the parchments and deeds of the *canonica* and it was necessary to redistribute all titles and holdings. *Auctoritate Olibae ausonensis et Ermesendis comitisa Barcinonensis, quae Berengario comitis filii sui tutrix erat.*

Because of the devotion of Oliba, Ermesendis trusted Taillafer also. In 1019 both were appointed judges to settle an old dispute between Ermesendis and Hugo, count of Ampurias. It was in August when the court gathered at Gerona (*cum multis aliis judicis ac viribus nobilibus*) and after many oaths and long procedure, judgment was given in favor of Ermesendis against the count of Ampurias. The sentence, probably dictated by Oliba, has its origin in Gothic law, of which Oliba had two copies in the library of Ripoll and it is later recorded that he procured another edition, newly copied at Barcelona. The three manuscripts have come down to us, badly mutilated but rich in marginal notes, showing constant use throughout the intervening centuries.

Oliba was called upon to act as judge in distant lands and on very exacting problems. He could find no rest even at Cuxá, where he had spent summers of blessed solitude. One day he was enjoying the peaceful shade of his trees there, when a man called Stephanus Isarn came asking for help against the count of Cerdanya, Oliba's second brother, who was tenant of some of his land. The count answered the demand of Oliba with the assertion that that land had been given to him by his grandfather. Oliba called a court, to which came several persons of good repute — *in quibus inter ea erat sacerdos*, and after deliberation they gave the right to the count, and Isarn was obliged to forego his claim.

The fact that plaintiffs never appealed is testimony to the justice of Oliba.

2. St.-Michel-de-Cuxa. Monastery

3. St.-Michel-de-Cuxa. Monastery

4. St.-Michel-de-Cuxa. Monastery

For instance, in the first years of his rule at Vich, he succeeded in arranging a political *entente* among the northern counts of the Marca, the counts of Cerdanya, Ampurias and Besalú and also the count and bishop of Narbona. "That is the business which I have completed since I left you," he writes to his friends in Ripoll, "and happy he who can say *completed* in an affair such as this."

Old enemies became friends after one of Oliba's trials. The count of Ampurias and Ermesendis signed side by side at the consecration of the church of St. Peter at Roda, which ceremony Oliba also attended. Since he was on good terms with Ermesendis, Oliba availed himself of her favor to retrieve for Ripoll the lands and monastery of Montserrat, which the counts of Barcelona had wrested from Ripoll. Oliba took possession of the old house at Montserrat and supplied it with books of grammar, law and history which are found in the inventory taken at his death.

His position as abbot of Cuxá as well as Ripoll made Oliba in a way subject to his brother, the count of Cerdanya. It is plain from the documents that Oliba was on the best of terms with him and with his wife, who must have been an extremely kind country gentlewoman. When she died she left two ounces of gold to Ripoll, two ounces to Cuxá, and one to other monasteries. She gave to Ripoll *annulum meum* — as if she had only one ring. In the same year Taillafer died and his will is a contrast to that of Cerdanya's wife. As he sensed the approach of Death, he called in his heirs singly, distributed his castles one by one, and gave with princely generosity to the monasteries. The gold and silver wares were to go to Ripoll — everything to be found in the house, clothes and goods, to be sold for the funeral, and in order to appease the wrath of the Almighty the slaves were to be set free. Taillafer must indeed have been deeply mourned. His tragic death seems like that of an epic hero. He was in full strength; in his will he mentions his children as infants. "Happy, far too happy our century would have been if Taillafer had not been drowned in the fatal current of the Rhône," wrote the grieving monks of Ripoll. He was on his way to attend the marriage of his son and on the dusty roads of Provence even to-day bridges are rare. With his accustomed *brío* Taillafer flung himself into the coursing river astride his trusted horse. But the torrent overpowered him. Again and again he sank and reappeared, clinging desperately to the mane of his horse . . . finally, uttering a terrible cry, he vanished into the whirlpool. The monks who recovered his body and carried it to Ripoll have preserved for us all the particulars of the accident.

The letter of mourning written by the monks of Ripoll, bespeaking the prayers of the monasteries in correspondence with them, has already been published by Baluze, but he omitted a set of verses which are another proof of

the poetical activity of Oliba in those days at Ripoll. This epistle tells us also that the monastery lost nine of its monks in three months. It is not only for the death of Taillafer they are grieving. Wilhelmus, in the spring of life, had to bear the pains of death. . . . Another monk had had a new cell only eight days when he died; Otto and Bernardus, converted on the same day, also died together. About that time Segoinus died, an old scribe absorbed in his books; afterwards Daniel, Udalgarius, and others. The monastic sons of Ripoll recall these names to their father Oliba — *pietatis vestrae inculcamus*. Oliba answered this letter and wrote others to Gaucelinus and to John, the Barcelona lad at Fleury. At this time there also took place the famous consultation of King Sancho of Navarra mentioned by Flórez. What could Oliba answer? It is the eternal question of whether the king shall marry a daughter of the royal house for the benefit of the state. Oliba lists the quotations of authorities, but the problem is difficult of solution. In a second letter published by Beer, Oliba takes advantage of this foreign correspondent and recommends to the king the Virgin of Ripoll. One is curious to know what answer the *Rex ibericus* gave to this. A copy of one of these epistles given at the hand of Oliba is still preserved, although in bad condition, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Abandoned by Oliba, who was at this time at Vich, the monks of Ripoll worked hard at editing more important books. In one of these manuscripts is a record in the *incipit* telling how the work was done. A certain monk called Legoinus, finding that the text of some translation of relics to Constantinople was corrupted, sent the copy to Arnaldus *Scolasticus* who corrected it, especially in the concordances. *Elegantioribus quam fuerat verbis polire*. Another editorial achievement of Arnaldus and his friends was the complete collection of the canons of the Spanish *conciles*, now lost, of which we have only the index copied by Bofarull. The personality of Arnaldus, the schoolmaster of Ripoll and a great friend of Oliba, is revealed with astonishing clarity in the *explicits* and notes. He was a meticulous man, conscientious, with a touch of pride, but thoroughly capable. For the rôle of *pedagogus* of the *scriptorium* of Ripoll, there could have been no one better fitted.

We have for instance a little poem inscribed by him at the end of the famous *Liber Glossarum et Etymologiarum*, a book of the former generation but which was still much in use in the time of Oliba and Arnaldus. "Without doctrine," says Arnaldus, "nothing can prevent ruin. Without doctrine the fleet is lost in the gale — without doctrine the hare falls prey to the dog — *ergo* learn doctrine to forestall ruin." And there follow ten more verses on the Egyptian plagues as instances of the ruin wrought by the lack of doctrine. The Arnaldus influence is noticeable in all the work of Ripoll at that time. They had not that eagerness for learning felt by their forebears, but they

liked good editions, and complete collections. They were dilettante versifiers, toying with exacting metres.

It is well known that Arnaldus with two more friends ordered for Oliba a compilation of works relative to music. Villanueva spoke of this book saying it was the work of a Ripoll monk called Oliba "*who is not the abbot, but a contemporary of the same name,*" but since then no one has looked more closely at this manuscript, which is still preserved (No. 44 of Ripoll) in the archives of Barcelona. The book is only the *brouillon*, the perfect copy having been sent to Oliba, who was then at Vich, and the contents are thrown in with no semblance of order. Nevertheless the labor of assembling the many texts must have been enormous. A foreword informs us sadly that *cum multi mode curiositatis, instantisima studia . . . ferventisimum animum . . . cupidum adquoque scibile, sollicitarent artemque musicam percipue quam iam de ceteris aliusque noveras impacientissima cupiditate.*

There had long been at Ripoll a tradition of love for music. The most ancient *codices* in the monastery are replete with musical notes and one composition at least seems to have been written for Ripoll in honor of the titulars St. Peter and St. Paul. The interest of these eleventh century scribes in the art is therefore not surprising. The idea of this collection of musical treatises came from a certain Peter, who was assistant to Abbot Oliba and who took his place when he was away. Peter consulted Arnaldus *Scolasticus*, of course, and also a certain Gualterus, who was expert in the art of calligraphy, and Oliba, the monk already mentioned. They decided to gather texts from the nearby monasteries . . . *per vicina cenobia petendorum librorum* and since not much was thus to be found they set forth on journeys of hardship. Gualterus tells us that he returned from the sources of the Ebro river (*de fontis regressus Hibero*) probably after visiting the Castilian monasteries of Arlanza, Silos and Cardeña. When they had acquired sufficient material for a volume, the monk Oliba made a résumé or foreword of four pages. Moreover, in order to facilitate the study, he made a little poem of twenty verses to be memorized, which Villanueva transcribed rather rapidly. Then the texts follow immediately, first, of course, Guidone d'Arezzo, then Ubaldus, Boethius, and so forth. It was the task of Arnaldus and Gualterus to fill the original with marvels of calligraphy. So pleased were they with their work that they added a few verses of *prosopopeya* or *dedicace*, and sent their *magnum opus* to Abbot Oliba at Vich. They compared themselves to the Holy Trinity, in mild jest, perhaps, to make Oliba smile on reading it.

Of these three we lose all trace of Gualterus, but Arnaldus and Oliba, the monk, will reappear and always in connection with the abbot. Oliba, the monk, was extraordinarily learned in mathematics, astronomy and other

sciences. His works were collected in a manuscript, No. 57 of the monastery, now lost, and we must glean our information from fragmentary copies of Villanueva. Two of those fragments are to demonstrate the theory that Christ was born on Saturday at midnight, for many astronomical reasons and also according to deductions from the prophecies. The same scientific disposition is shown in another epistle about the Eastern calendar where the scholar again reveals an exceptional knowledge of mathematics and astronomy. Villanueva says only: *son unas tablas de computos muy difíciles de entender y más de copiar. De multiplicatione vel divisione . . . De ponderibus et mensuris* . . . those are the works of the monk Oliba, and many of them seem to have been ordered by his *homonimus*, Oliba, the abbot; at all events they were sent to him for emendation. *Enmendes recte*, he says, or *Si aliqua videres indigere emendatione, emendes. . . .*

Praesul Olibae . . . venerande pater Olibae . . . domino Olibae pontifici ausonensi are the words used by the monks of Ripoll when they send to their abbot a basketful of treatises. Very often they themselves would make the day's journey from Ripoll to Vich and Oliba would sit at the table with the pleasant Gualterus, or Arnaldus, *magister*, Peter, the lover of music, or the mathematician and astrologer, Oliba, the monk, ecclesiastical priority giving place to scholarly fellowship. The abbot is ever mindful of them. He writes asking them to take care of the swans and *gavianicus* of the monastery; he tells them that he has got a crane trained to the most extraordinary feat. It is a young crane, which has taken a fancy to jump on the heads of the mules and horses and tickles them and finally pierces their eyes, making them blind! What horror! Yet the abbot seems to find no fault in his wonderful crane. It has a red neck and its feathers are black, and its voice is shrill. It is curious to see barbaric tastes reappear in a man of refined sentiments, so praised for his wisdom and moderation.

One day he preached at Gerona and the sermon has been preserved by Flores. He does not use complicated sentences nor amass questions. He tells plainly how Narcissus, a saint of Africa, was obliged to hide for a night in a house of ill-fame and how the ladies were kind to him and how he converted them . . . and all suffered the *martirium*. Oliba speaks with candor, as a man who is above pedantry or scholarly vanity.

Old age was now descending upon him. . . . (He died *in optima senectute*.) Gaucelinus and other friends were dead. Of the family of the old *Goat*, his father, there remained only himself and his sister, the former abbess of St. John, whom Oliba had taken into the bishop's palace of Vich after her misfortune. Ingilberta did not come to the palace alone. She came in the company of a boy-priest, her nephew Guillermus, who had been under her protection when she was still the abbess of St. John. This protégé of Ingil-

berta proved himself worthy of his place beside Bishop Oliba; he signed the documents with him as *archidiaconus* and prepared to succeed him in wearing the mitre of Vich.

Ingilberta seems to have conducted her affairs at Vich with grace. She who was called *sceleratiora . . . inter meretrices*, was mourned when she died at Vich as the abbess of *bonae memoriae*, and in the *necrologium* of the cathedral are written the particulars of the funeral. She was buried with honor as if she had maintained an unstained reputation.

In company with Guillermus and Ingilberta, we find at the palace of Vich, Arnaldus, the scholar of Ripoll, who in his later years did not leave Oliba again. He held an excellent post at Vich. He signed the documents with the impressive title of *archinotarius* and yet he needed an assistant who frequently signed for him as *vice-archinotarius*.

But even more than those people Oliba loved in his new home of Vich a humble, devoted priest called Ermemirus, who was in truth a tireless writer. He copied the greater part of the books of the cathedral which are preserved to us from that time, and noted carefully all the particulars about the text, or rather *editio*, in a final *explicit* at the end of each book. He wrote clear uniform letters; he was also a good draftsman but made few illustrations. When Oliba wanted an excellent copyist for any emergency Ermemirus was called. We see him setting down the deed of consecration of the cathedral, when it was rebuilt by Oliba.

Ermemirus was probably the man who put in order the books of the episcopal library. There are still preserved at Vich the two Virgils, the Horatius, the Isidorus and Alcuinus among other books. The library was good, but could not match the *Rivipollensis*. Ermemirus was still young when he began his task of *caput scolarum* in the cathedral. He died *in senectute bona* and from the year 1030, when he signed the first document still preserved, to the year 1080 . . . we can compute with accuracy the hours he spent in his *scriptorium* copying books and teaching students *qui plures clerici nutriti sunt*, who were subsequently priests at the cathedral.

The school of the cathedral of Vich was not really founded by Oliba, but he fostered its steady development. In this institution the students found paternal protection and kindness. When they died there a record of the poor students was kept in the *necrologium* in equal honor with the princes and great men. *Kalendas Februari obitus Ugonis scolaris adolescentis bonae indolae atque memoriae. Indus Januari obiit Bernardus scolaris bonae indolae*, etc. . . . The *necrologium* of Vich has preserved also the records of the masters of the school. It has the name of three *capita scolarum* of that time besides Ermemirus. One of those later on gave up all his property, everything *ad usum seculi*, to be free to attend only to the business of the

school. Another left in his will a bushel of oats yearly for every student. . . . *Bonae indolae atque memoriae.*

Not all the canons of Vich were scholars — some were only semi-ecclesiastics, — half priests, half soldiers, or half priests, half farmers — charged with the husbandry in the tenets of the cathedral. Some of them, after years of labor in behalf of the cathedral, became so identified with the land that after their demise their relations claimed it as property of the estate of the deceased. Oliba had to dispose of a few disputes of this kind from the bishop's palace, and always settled the affair by allowing the immediate heirs of the deceased to hold the property for another generation, but with a clear title for the cathedral thereafter. In another case there arose a question of who was to go to an abandoned farm in an exceedingly distant and very dry region. A volunteer appeared in the person of a canon, Guillermus, who paid for going there, and wanted only the privilege of choosing before his death the canon who should succeed him. He lived there a long time alone, coming to Vich very seldom, until the day he decided to go to Spain — *volo pervagare in partibus Hispaniae* — as we know from his unpublished will. Perhaps he wished to make the Santiago pilgrimage; at any rate he disposed of his estate, giving to the cathedral some lands of his own and naming as his executor Oliba, who was a friend of the farmers as well as of the scholars and princes. Guillermus was a man not only *sollicitus in orationibus, philosophicae studiis exercitatus*, as was said of Oliba in his time; his life was filled with varied activities and consecrated in *omnibus curae* to the betterment of his land.

The mitre of Vich was reaping increasingly large revenues from the leases of farms and castles. The bishop had the right to coin money, one third of the currency in circulation in the diocese. Money at that time was valued by its weight, nevertheless the manufacture of it was a profitable business. The bishops who preceded Oliba at the seat of Vich had commanded that counterfeiters be put in the market-place in the stocks. Whoever has seen the weekly market of Vich even to-day, crowded with both farmers and priests, will easily understand that for the peasants it was natural that the bishop should have executive power. Oliba's letter against the counterfeiters is very brief and does not mention more punishments. *Quis monetam nostram falsaverit aut diminuerit anathema sit.*

Here Oliba as usual attended to affairs of business with the same dignity with which he set about high spiritual labors. In order to strengthen the power of the bishop he administered the wealth of his church and liked to have the documents in order. There is in the archives of Vich an unpublished edict of 1032 in which Oliba orders a parchment of Berengarius to be recopied and confirmed by many authorities, with the idea that if the original was lost, this second one would remain. After having arranged such matters

the bishop bethought him of the internal constitution of the canon. It is still doubtful whether it was in the time of Oliba or after his death that the group of independent canons became a regular institution subject to the discipline of the Augustinian rule. But it was Ermemirus who copied the manuscript of the Aquisgranus constitution which has been enforced at Vich to this day.

Oliba attended all the synods and councils and when he could not leave, his brethren came to him, meeting at Vich or Cuxá, where he went in the summer. Business was transacted almost wholly within one family, as all the bishops of this ecclesiastical province were more or less closely related to him. Nevertheless Oliba had to deal with people who were not at all agreeable. His nephew at Narbona was quite a rascal; he bought the mitre for one thousand *solidi* . . . afterwards he had the treasures of the church sold to the Jews, and with the money bought the mitre of Urgell for his brother. Oliba must have been, among such ill-doers, a judge to be feared; of him no evil was ever whispered. He is always praised as a clever prince of the church, strong and full of wisdom.

The last works of Oliba were the buildings. Probably he had in previous years accumulated the money for the enterprise. There is a saying to-day among the Catalan people: "Do not build at all . . . if you have not more money than you want!" The cathedral church of Vich, built by Oliba, was torn down in the eighteenth century to be replaced by a neo-classic structure. The church of Oliba at Vich was a large, rustic edifice of only one aisle with little interior adornment, but graced by a sculptured door. This door has been destroyed, but to-day one can in some measure picture it from fragments scattered about the city.

The church was consecrated in the first days of good weather. To it came the bishops of Elna, Narbona, Gerona and many friends from Ripoll who signed beside Arnaldus, *archinotarius*, Guillermus, Ingilberta and other counts and lords of the Marca. The building, though still damp, was filled with worshippers, who also filled the square in front of the church. The bishop laid the floor (as is recounted in the ceremonial book of Ripoll) in silence, surrounded by the priests singing *Behold Oh Lord, Thy church, protect it and rule it forever! Bless it, visit it, exalt it! Give to it Thine eternal light and give peace, and refresh those who will rest here! O Lord redeem us by Thy precious blood!* The bishop, all the while laying in the floor, heard the *clero canentem*. Finally the shepherd arose, with Guillermus assisting him and cried: *Flectua genua!* When all were kneeling the vaults seemed higher still, and in the silence the bishop uttered the words of consecration: *Oh Lord magnify Thy temple . . . receive it for Thy heredity*, etc. Afterwards the *pontifex*, as if he were following an inspiration, marked with the rod the

letters of the alphabet: *A B C D*, starting in the left corner of the *presbiterium* and going diagonally to the right corner. Then the same in the other diagonal: *Verum incipit similiter a dextro angulo orientali A B C.* He made a cross with letters (what do those letters mean?). The people must have looked at the symbols in astonishment. The *pontifex* returned to the center and sang again. . . .

After the ceremony all the participants went to the vestry and presented the church with royal gifts, starting with the bishop who gave the Mass Book. That was in the year 1038 *ordinatione suo episcopatu XXI.* He was then 67 years old, still strong and courageous enough to go to Gerona that very summer for the consecration of the cathedral there.

But Oliba's *chef-d'œuvre* as a builder was the new church for Ripoll, consecrated in 1033, with multitudes in attendance at the feast — *infinita populorum multitudine et preclara episcoporum caterva.* Probably the architect was Arnaldus *Scolasticus*, who signed his name in the mosaic of the *presbiterium*, with a geographical reference to the two rivers *Ter y Fraser*, whose waters meet at Ripoll. Oliba's church at Ripoll was much more elaborate than the cathedral of Vich, with five aisles and seven apses, and richly adorned with frescoes. Oliba was conscious of the importance of the sanctuary of Ripoll which was to be the Royal Pantheon of a great dynasty. His forebears, who had been ruled by wild passions, were to become almost holy men; those captains of a French Marca were to be the founders of the Barcelona state. Oliba cleaned the skeletons, one by one, put in line the bones of those heroes, men and women, made new sarcophagi and composed the epitaphs. In order to perpetuate their glory he made a historical *carmen* in forty-seven verses praising each one of them: *Here lies Guifredus, the excellent marquis, the mighty count . . . God give him peace in glory. Here lie Suniardus, Mironis, Ava, the countess, Ermengarius . . . all fortis bellipotens. Nothing but Death, treacherous Death, could overcome such people.*

To sanctify the place, Oliba filled the church with relics, bones perhaps not as holy as those of his ancestors who were lying there. At any rate, these relics came from Rome, Monte Cassino, Fleury, and even from Barcelona and Gerona, from every place where Oliba had good friends. In order to keep a record of them he wrote a sermon to be read every year on the anniversary of the date of the consecration and it is surprising to note the knowledge which Oliba reveals of the different places from which the relics had been brought. The lands and holy places are described with uncommon wisdom. Those who have seen the distorted maps of the tenth century in the manuscripts of Isidorus, Bede and Beatus with their representations of the world, can understand how difficult it was at that time to have clear geographical ideas.

OLIBA DE RIPOLL

The church of Oliba at Ripoll, profaned by the monks of the sixteenth century with Baroque chapels, was burned in the Revolution of 1837 and — a still worse fate — was thoroughly reconstructed thirty years ago by an architect who had unlimited means at his disposal. There remains intact only the astonishing portal as a witness of the grandeur of the Oliba edifice. Perhaps he did not plan the building himself, but certainly he was in some way responsible for that doorway. It is a flat wall 22 yards long with rows of sculptured ornaments, the whole covered with reliefs and arches. The reliefs are arranged in horizontal zones. Below are ten great figures in relief, five on each side. Those on the left form an orchestra — in the middle is a bishop seated in his chair, baton in hand, evidently Oliba. Of the four musicians one plays the viol, another the bells, the other two the recorder and the horn. In the music book made for Abbot Oliba at Ripoll (of which we have already spoken) is a genealogical tree in which Arnaldus, Oliba the monk, and Gualterus make a clear division of the different kinds of music: *mundana, instrumentalia et humana.* The *instrumentalia* is in turn divided into three kinds as produced *in tensione nervorum, in flatione tibiarum, et percussione cimbalorum.*

The five figures at the right represent a parallel concert of harmony of a different sort. The five figures are Christ giving the power to Peter, and beside Peter a Bishop, a Warrior and a Lawyer or Monk; above those figures in large dimensions the wall is subdivided by long rows of scenes taken from the Octateuch and the Books of Kings. On the top is the Apocalyptic Vision with the four-and-twenty Elders and the four Animals surrounding the Pantocreator.

Hundreds of figures cover this wall. Most of the representations are from the historical books of the Bible. Where did the Ripoll monks find the graphic models for the carvings of this stone? The answer comes most unexpectedly. We know from the inventory taken at Oliba's death that at Ripoll there were four *Bibliothecas* or Bibles. None of them is preserved among the books of the monastery to-day at Barcelona. Were those Bibles illuminated? Were their miniatures in any way connected with the stone Bible at the entrance of the sanctuary? As I have already said, I was fortunate enough to find one of those four Bibles at the Vatican, one of the most precious manuscripts of the Pope's library and known to-day as the *Biblia di Farfa.* Farfa is a Benedictine monastery near Rome, but evidently this *codex* came from some other place. There is confusion in the list of the churches of Rome (which is canonical in all the Romanesque Bibles) — errors which could not have been made by a Latin scribe or an Italian monk. The text is the Spanish Vulgate and so are the *proemia;* moreover, the miniatures, which are very numerous, reproduce figure after figure of the Ripoll carvings. Mistakes are

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made which prove that the artists of Ripoll had before them, while they were working on the portal, a Bible of the type of the *Biblia di Farfa*, if not that very volume.

We cannot here go into more detail, but the Catalan origin or, rather the Ripollan origin, of the Ripoll reliefs has now been proved, and this explains why such advanced work could be produced in the Marca at the beginning of the eleventh century. Oliba and his men were gathering in the crops, laboring under tribulations as had their forebears for two generations. The *Biblia di Farfa* is of the tenth century, and must have been made at Vich or Ripoll when the school directed by the *Josephus sapiens*, so highly commended by Gerbert, was there.

The work of the Ripoll builders extended also to the other house under the direction of Oliba, the old sanctuary of Cuxá beyond the Pyrenees. Cuxá was dedicated to St. Michael, a saint especially popular at the time. The archangel had recently appeared in terrible, almost magic circumstances. Oliba longed always for his church of St. Michael in its wild valley — alas, if he could only pass his declining days as a humble monk, and die there at Cuxá, with the fresh grass, the fragrance of meadows, the running waters, the high mountains round about him!

As he could not go there himself he sent to Cuxá his friends of Ripoll: Arnaldus and Oliba the monk, and perhaps also Garcia, who praises them both as his masters. Garcia wrote a letter to Oliba, published by Baluze, describing the Cuxá sanctuary and the work done by the brethren of Ripoll, *toto vestris familiaris Arnallis*, and in particular Oliba, the monk, *quique erat summae patientiae ac mansuetudinis vir*. Garcia gives the measurements of the buildings, describes the altar, richly carved in multi-colored marble, the work of the monk of Ripoll. *In this valley we are protected from the sun in summer and from winds in winter.* . . . No noise, no worldly affairs. *Pray God for us*, asks Garcia of Oliba, *that the heavenly light may never fail here.* This was enough to tempt Oliba . . . there he went to surrender his spirit in the peace of the mountains!

Work in this life is never finished for men such as Oliba. Who can ever say in the words of the Prophet: *My heart is ready, Oh Lord, raise me to the light!* The people made increasing demands upon the great abbot. Oliba bowed his white head upon the altars of three new churches. With trembling hands he went on with his work. At length, knowing that his end was near, he wrote a letter to his successors, recommending wisdom. He closes it with these words: *non transgredieris terminos quod possuerunt patris tuis.*

Oliba died at Cuxá in the autumn; it was the 30th of October, 1046 (iii *Kalendas November feria* V *hora* VIII). The date is absolutely certain, as it is given by two *necrologia* and the mourning letters from Ripoll. Notwith-

standing this fact, errors occurred and in some places the date is said to be 1047. (*Los del Languedoc*, says a Catalan scholar of the eighteenth century, *Los del Languedoc lo matan en 1047, pero arguyen mal.*) This means that the authors of the *History of Languedoc* mistook by one year the date of the death of Oliba, which occurred beyond doubt in 1046. The mountains surrounding Cuxá, are fresh and damp in the fall of the year. The bishop died as the last rays of the sun left the great church in deepening twilight. What a night! The white face of the Father shining in the dark Benedictine hood! Arnaldus and Oliba, the monk, praying, weeping with their companions, in the silent, dark church.

There are men who carry a vivifying power which serves to awaken and maintain life in others. Their loss is so overpowering to their followers that all spiritual aid seems to have left them, and they have scarcely the strength to continue. It is not until a certain time has passed that they learn to live the readjusted life, and order is established again. The disciples of Oliba buried him beside the great Peter Urseolus. Turning from his grave they sent a monk with a funeral letter to all the monasteries corresponding to Cuxá and Ripoll. At each stop the correspondents added a short eulogy of the deceased and a few verses of grief. Eighty monasteries and princes mourned the loss of Oliba.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

This article has been compiled in the western part of the United States, where, of course, the peculiar bibliographical material for the notes is not available. It has been worked out with old papers of mine which I believe contain the precise data, but which lack part of the references. The reader must needs be content with the following incomplete bibliographical information. A few documents for the biography of Oliba have been published by Flórez, *España Sagrada*, and Villanueva, *Viaje Literario*. A new contribution was made by Rudolf Beer in his report on the *Manuscripts of Ripoll*, published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Wien, almost simultaneously with an article of mine on the same subject which appeared in a local Catalan paper *Empori*, about 1906.

As for the Mabillon and Yepes the indices of those two great works will give the reader the proper references; likewise the *Gallia Cristiana*, *Annales Camandulensis*, and *Casinensis Chronicles*. An excellent new edition of the *Gesta Comitum* has just been published by Masso y Torrents and Barrau Dehigo. The *Necrologium* of Vich I believe was published in a local paper by J. Gudiol, but I worked from the original manuscript in the Episcopal Museum.

The very important *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Ripoll* by Prosper Bofarull I believe is still awaiting an editor in the archives of Barcelona. This catalogue was made before the Revolution of 1837 and contains descriptions of books which were destroyed in the upheaval. The article of Professor Burham was published in the *Bulletin Hispanique* ten or twelve years ago. My article on the *Reginensis* of the Vatican and on the *Biblia di Farfa* were published in the *Cuadernos de la Escuela Española de Roma* and the *Anuari de l'Institut d' Estudis Catalans* about 1912.

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SOURCES OF THE IRISH ILLUMINATIVE ART

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1. London. British Museum. Sword Handle. (*British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*)

2. Dysert O'Dea. Detail of Cross. (H. S. Crawford, *Carved Ornament from Irish Monuments*)

3. Paris. Louvre. Pole Top. (M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*)

4. Turoë, County Galway. Stone from La Tène period. (Royal Irish Academy phot.)

5. Delphi. Omphalos

SOURCES OF THE IRISH ILLUMINATIVE ART

By WALTER READ HOVEY

So rare a quality as pure originality in art merits the utmost attention of the student. If it is a delight for the archaeologist to discover an origin for what had been considered unique, it is also a pleasure to feel that the aesthetic value is not dependent upon this uniqueness. Accordingly when the quality of art has the extreme individuality of the Irish illuminated manuscripts together with their splendid emotional appeal, one's curiosity is intensely aroused to discover whence the ideas came.

The problem is an especially knotty one because of the scarcity of material with which to make comparisons. Indeed we possess no manuscripts contemporary with the famous Irish ones which in any way approach the assurance and skill of these scribes, while it may readily be said of those books which they have left to us, that the tendency is one of decline rather than of development in execution. If the art budded with the Book of Durrow in, say, the seventh century, to burst into full flower with the Book of Kells some fifty years or more later, what had gone before?

A study of the earliest Irish culture of which we know will give us a clue to some of the designs, for the manuscripts reveal in many places the furthest development imaginable of those patterns loved by barbaric peoples. It is said that the legend of the Hare and the Moon is shared by Indians and Chinese, Mexicans and Hottentots, alike; and so one is at a loss to conjecture what were the contacts and movements of prehistoric peoples. One may assert, however, and not without some assurance, that the original inhabitants of Ireland were a Mediterranean race.[1] This is of interest, for although the Celts in successive waves of invasion came to gain control, the old Iberian stock was by no means extinguished. An examination of the many hundred sepulchral urns which have been found in Britain dating from the bronze age indicates a surprising originality among these people. The chevron pattern is the basis of design on all these objects, yet scarcely any two are alike.[2] Whether the civilization of Britain could have been directly stimulated by the Phoenician traders or not is a matter of pure conjecture. Beads have been found in England which are thought to have been made in Egypt as early as 1400 B.C.[3] However that may be, we know that there was a constant inter-

[1] R. A. S. Macalister, *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times* (Dublin, 1921), p. 51.

[2] See J. Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times* (London, 1904), ch. 2.

[3] *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1914), vol. I, p. 18.

course with Spain in early times and it is interesting to observe that the earliest bronze finds of Ireland were obviously derived from Spain, while those from England more strongly resemble pieces from France and Italy.[1]

Indeed from the very first we are confronted with the problem which runs through the whole question before us; it consists in determining how ideas which originated in the extreme eastern Mediterranean region could have reached the most western part of Europe.

Possibly the first definite point of connection may be observed in the use of the spiral as on a stone at Newgrange. Although this ornament may be found beautifully incised on Egyptian scarabs of the twelfth dynasty,[2] it was far more characteristic of the Aegean civilization.[3] From there it spread even to Scandinavia (Worsaae[4] putting certain examples which have been found there at a date not later than 1000 B.C.), and thence we may assume down into Ireland. Evidence that this is so is rather striking, for it has been observed [5] that the earliest examples are much finer in execution than the later ones, which come to be merely concentric or dotted circles. That is to say, the design was received from the south in a more advanced stage than the northerners were able to appreciate. When we find the triskelion skilfully executed on weapons and ornaments with other more elaborate designs, it is probable that a new influx of inspiration has entered in, and one must bear in mind the movements of the Celtic race.

In this connection the rôle of the La Tène civilization should not be overlooked. Rostovtzeff has shown how the art of this period was influenced both by the Greek city of Marseilles [6] and by the East, while of course the Etruscan ornament also penetrated northwards. An analysis of the Kelermes [7] find which has been dated as early as 500 B.C. indicates that there must have been even then some slight filtering of influences into Western Europe from southern Russia. An ornamented sword handle from Somme Bionne, Marne, now in the British Museum [8] (Fig. 1), shows in a delightful way the early use of this Scythian animal style in Europe. The weapon was found on the right side of the body in a position peculiar to the Celts, and corresponds to the somewhat later ornaments from La Tène. In comparing this with a pole top from North

[1] Donald McKenzie, *Ancient Man in Britain* (London, 1922), p. 88.

[2] W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Decorative Arts in Egypt* (London, 1895), Fig. 53.

[3] See article by G. Coffey, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vols. IV and V. For the spiral in Sarmation ornament see Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), p. 130, Fig. 17. W. H. Goodyear in the *Grammar of the Lotus*, London, 1891, connects Mycenean spirals with Egypt, while S. Reinach in an essay, *Le Mirage Oriental*, published in *L'Anthropologie*, vol. IV, maintains that the Aegean civilization is essentially Western and European. Indications, however, of important contacts with the East must not be overlooked.

[4] J. J. Worsaae, *Danish Arts* (London, 1852), p. 41.

[5] See article by Dr. Oscar Montelius, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. IV, p. 377.

[6] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 and 116. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[8] *British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities* (London, 1908), p. 56.

Syria (Fig. 3), one is impressed with the similarity of the decorative idea, and the wide spread of the style from Asia through Russia to Northern Europe becomes evident. Strangely enough this pole top shows a rather close connection with a decoration on the cross at Dysert O'Dea (Fig. 2). In both cases the subject [1] seems to be a survival of the ancient "πότνια θηρῶν," a Nature deity supported by two animals found in Assyrian art. The same subject occurs also in an initial of the St.-Gall manuscript 904. Not only do later discoveries show the influence of this style to have spread into Ireland, but the writings of Pytheas, a Greek living in 330 B.C., give us literary evidence of an active trade between Gaul and Britain.

The extent to which Greek ideas influenced the thought and expression of barbaric races was obviously very great. Greek motives were prevalent in the arts of South Russia,[2] while the excellent comparative studies of religions which have appeared bring to mind many analogies between Greek rites and Norse mythology, or even the Christian ritual. A very striking example of this similarity has been published by A. B. Cook,[3] who has analyzed the sculpture on the Gosforth Cross with the amazing result that one may clearly see thereon a double interpretation, the one Scandinavian, the other Christian, while the origin of the thing itself goes back to the Phrygian tree cult. A more concrete proof of a direct Greek influence among the Northern races, and in this case among the Celts who settled in Ireland, may possibly be furnished by a stone at Turoë, County Galway (Fig. 4). The character of the design marks the work as a product of La Tène times and influence. The use of the stone, however, brings us more directly back to Greece. One is struck, I think, by the similarity between it and the *omphalós* of white marble from Delphi (Fig. 5). As the name implies, this stone marked the central point of the earth. Many towns in Greece and even Byzantium claimed to possess this centre and had such stones, which were particularly valued. The subject, often with a similar network design, is found on coins and vase paintings. This feature, according to A. B. Cook, stamps the stone as a symbol, an ornament which stood without the temple, for the original mound which marked the spot was too holy for ordinary observation. It seems then, that the stone in Ireland, so unusual in treatment yet so close to the Greek stones, was a similar symbol and gives definite proof of the spread of Greek conceptions even to Ireland.

Indeed it is not difficult to see how many of the designs which are characteristic of Celtic art and which continued to be used in the illuminations of the Christian manuscripts, may have been evolved from the palmette, the an-

[1] See Evans, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London), vol. XXI, p. 165; also H. S. Crawford, *Carved Ornament from Irish Monuments* (Dublin, 1926), p. 58.

[2] See Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXI.

[3] A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914), vol. II, p. 304.

themion, and the meander patterns of the Greeks.[1] It is necessary, however, to give due measure to the individuality of the Irish. Simple S-curves became long, graceful trumpet forms, which were developed with a flamboyant exuberance on weapons and articles of personal adornment. The triskelion of the ancients survived in many adaptations. The leaf derivation is quite obscured in the mirror-back illustrated (Fig. 9) but is apparent in an earlier and simpler hook and disk ornament (Fig. 6). It may be seen that the mirror-back has not the equibalanced design which arises from the purely geometric ideal but has the symmetry and divergent spiral characteristic of plant growth. Possibly the bronze shield in the British Museum (Fig. 8) is a step in this direction. Here the central disk has a symmetry and balance which is splendidly in proportion to the shape of the object on which it is placed, but it has not the same aspect from all directions. When we compare this with a disk from Mycenae[2] (Fig. 7) which it somewhat resembles, we notice the stronger geometrical feeling of the older ornament, with its symmetry complete under any condition.

This shield is a delightful example of the culture achieved by the Celts at an early date, probably about the time of Christ. It is especially interesting because of the enamel-work which appears on it. Red enamelled disks are fastened to places which have been hollowed out in the shield. This process seems to be a step towards the champlevé technique, of which many examples have been found in Britain. The ancient Egyptians inset semi-precious stones somewhat after this fashion, but their enamel-work was of the cloisonné type. The Greeks likewise used a sort of wire-encrusted method, and Philostratus,[3] a Greek sophist, though living as late as the third century A.D., showed some wonder at the barbarians' knowledge of an enamel process by which they poured color on heated brass, to which it adhered and became hard as stone. He undoubtedly refers to the British Isles. Nevertheless it is now known that enamels found in the valley of the Kuban in the Caucasus region were made by the champlevé process.[4] Does this show an early connection between South Russia and Western Europe, or was the art brought across the sea by traders from the Eastern Mediterranean? If the former is the case, which is more than likely, there must have been an intercourse with the Sarmations before the arrival of the Romans in Britain. In any case, however, it is puzzling that there should not have been found elsewhere ornaments of this character.[5]

The ornamented metal work of Ireland often has designs which closely re-

[1] See George Coffey, *Guide to the Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period preserved in the National Museum Dublin*, Dublin, 1909.

[2] H. Schliemann, *Mycenae* (London, 1878), p. 169, Fig. 245.

[3] *British Museum Guide, op. cit.*, p. 102.

[4] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[5] So rare are such finds that, when a ring with enamel was recently discovered in France and another in the Fayum, Mr. Reginald Smith conjectured that they must have been brought there by Roman soldiers from Britain.

6. Dublin. Dublin Museum. Bronze Hook and Dish Ornament

7. Mycenae. Gold Disk. (Schliemann, *Mycenae*)

8. London. British Museum. Bronze Shield found in Thames. (*British Museum Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities*)

9. Liverpool. Mayer Museum. Bronze Mirror Back. (J. Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art*)

call those of the manuscripts, sometimes being almost identical. In a page from the Book of Durrow (Fig. 12) one feels that color has been used to indicate planes on a flat surface which repoussé work would have brought out in metal.[1] Possibly the small, almond-shaped spots may have been put into the manuscript design where a high-light would have caught the metal. M. J. Doran [2] has cleverly traced the origin of a pattern, which he has named the stop knot, to the enameller's need for a design which would sharply divide the colors. He has also discovered a close analogy between the Saint John symbol of the Book of Durrow and the handle of an early bronze dish.[3] Indeed the resemblance to the technique of metal-work is often very striking. The stiff jewelled wings given to Angels in the Book of Kells (Fig. 26) might well have been copied from an ornament found at Maikróp,[4] or the broken arch terminating in animals' heads which adorns the page of the "Seizure of Christ" in the same book, inspired from some barbaric bracelet.[5] Surely ornamented metals inspired by contact with far-off peoples played an important part in the formation of this miniature illumination. Historically they form a connection between the crudeness of the early sculptured stones and the sure, delicate handling of the scribe's pen. Through the manuscripts these designs were often again transmitted to sculpture, where they are not infrequently found on the crosses [6] which are so numerous in the British Isles.

Even after Christianity was thoroughly established in Ireland the patterns which were used in the manuscript adornment were often inspired by non-Christian decorations. One page of the Book of Durrow is ornamented with the fully developed, zoömorphic, lacertine style. Professor Rostovtzeff has again shown [7] how in the fourth century A.D. there was a sufficient migration of peoples from South Russia into Western Europe thoroughly to establish the Scythian animal style (Fig. 11) which was peculiar to that region. With the settling of the Anglo-Saxons it gradually took root in England and, as the Durrow page (Fig. 12) shows, was skilfully handled in Ireland long before the elaborate carvings of the Oseburg ship. The anthropomorphs which appear so elaborately entwined in the Book of Kells may well have been Irish inventions. The Irish were never interested in portraying reality and would have delighted in substituting these human contortions for the animal forms. The

[1] An almost identical pattern occurs on a bronze bowl found at Jaaten, Norway. See J. R. Allen, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1903), Pl. LXXVI, Fig. 10.

[2] M. J. Doran, *Burlington Magazine*, 1908, p. 139.

[3] Illustrated in above article. This dish was found at Moklebust in Norway, and, like the one previously mentioned, was probably taken from Ireland as plunder at the time of the Norse invasions.

[4] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV.

[5] E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1901), illustration on p. 271.

[6] A cross-slab at Nigg, Rosshire, copies patterns found in the Book of Kells. See J. Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (Cambridge, 1913), vol. I, p. 28.

[7] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

harness trappings from North Russia illustrated by Rostovtzeff[1] (Fig. 10) clearly show whence the lacertine style was derived. Although human heads suggesting the classical influence were sometimes used purely as decoration with this exotic animal style, and a tendril-like pattern common to Roman mosaics may occasionally be found, the theory of Bernard Salin, who believed that the early Teutonic animal forms were Graeco-Roman importations, can now scarcely be maintained.[2] The similarity of the finds at Kerch with Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian ones makes this evident.[3] Or again, brooches dating from the fourth to the sixth century which have been found in Kent seem to have been made with the same technique as those from South Russia.[4] Although Ireland must have received these patterns through England, she herself was undoubtedly the artistic centre of the time. This was in large measure because she had earlier embraced Christianity.

During the Roman occupation in Britain, Ireland was isolated from the dominating power of the empire, and so kept alive the freedom of spirit and barbaric art characteristic of Northern races. Just how early and in what manner the Irish were Christianized is not known. Possibly monks first came from Lyons, pupils of Irenaeus, the second bishop of that city and a native of Asia Minor. Perhaps there was a closer contact with Spain than is generally believed. Early Irish literature has frequent references to the Iberian peninsula and there are certain similarities of a general nature. While it is almost universal for churches in Rome to have a semi-circular apse, this feature does not occur in Ireland, nor is it found in Visigothic churches.[5]

The Irish monastery, like the pre-Romanesque culture of Spain, was modelled on ideas from the East. The monastery of Lerins in Gaul is one of the earliest of those which spread from Egypt, and it is thought that Saint Patrick came from there.[6] Whether this be true or not, there was at that time a close contact between Syria, Egypt, and the West. The fame of the monastic life in Upper Egypt spread over the entire Christianized world, even to distant Ireland. The ancient book of Leabhar Breac furnishes evidence of this, for it mentions seven Egyptian monks who were buried in Disert Widh. The connection with Syria was perhaps no less important. Adamnan, the biographer of Saint Columba, tells us that such monasteries as Inismurray were built on the plan of Syrian ones. Indeed we know from a letter[7] which Saint

[1] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[2] Bernard Salin, *Die Altgermanische Tierornamentik*, Stockholm, 1904.

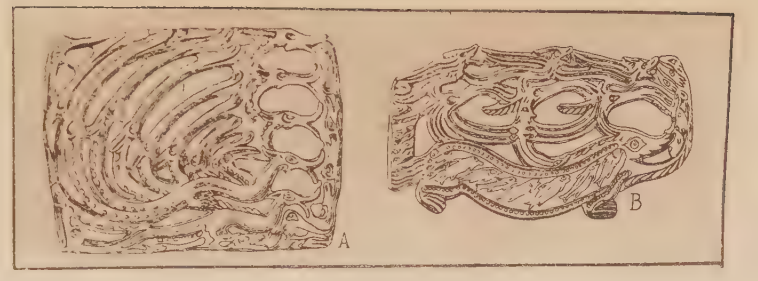
[3] See illustrations, O. M. Dalton, *The Antiquaries Journal*, 1924.

[4] G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* (London, 1903), vol. IV, Pls. CXLV–CXLVII. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

[5] G. G. King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain*, Bryn Mawr, 1924.

[6] G. T. Stokes, *The Early History of the Celtic Church in Ireland* (London, 1895), ch. 6.

[7] C. E. Hammond, *Ancient Liturgies*, Oxford, 1896.



10. North Russia. Harness Trappings. (Rostovtzeff, *Op. cit.*)

11. Treasure of Novotcherkask. Ornament. (Kondakof, Tolstoi et Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*)

12. Dublin. Trinity College. *Book of Durrow*, fol. 111r. (Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*)

13. Dublin. Trinity College. *Book of Durrow*, fol. 174v. (*Ibid.*)

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Augustine wrote to Pope Gregory that the Irish liturgy of that time had unmistakable connections with the East. This is still further borne out by a description of the church at Kildare by Cogitosis,[1] which states that a sanctuary was separated from the church by two doorways which were decorated with paintings and veils. Certainly this arrangement sounds very like the Iconostasis of the Greek Church.[2]

Although none of this material has been preserved to us in Ireland, if we examine the textiles which were used as part of the church furnishings at this time, that is, from the fourth to the sixth century, we shall note a surprising similarity to the Irish illuminations of a later date. Such an opportunity is furnished us by the finds at Achmin, in Upper Egypt.[3] The human figure is outlined on these weavings with no attempt at expressing reality. The draperies are rendered by broad stripes as so often in the manuscripts; but what is more striking is the single line in a large wave-like swirl to indicate hair on a figure of Christ in one of the fragments (Fig. 17), which recalls the same convention in a drawing of the crucifixion (Fig. 14) from a Psalter now at Saint John's College, Cambridge. Another fragment from Achmin, though much damaged, reveals a figure holding two long rods or sceptres [4] which are like those held by Saint Luke in the Gospels of Saint Chad (Fig. 18). One of these has pointed foliage at the end which must symbolize the palm; the other is terminated by a cross. No less enlightening is the interlace in the form of a cross on a fourth-century tapestry (Fig. 16) from the same place.

Perhaps the most characteristic element in Irish illumination is the interlace in its various forms. It is not found in the pagan art of the Celts but occurs in Greek codices of the fourth and fifth centuries, and was of course much used in the Italo-Byzantine style which flourished in Lombardy from 563 to 774. It has been thought that the Irish interlace must have been inspired from the guilloche on Roman mosaic pavements, of which there are many examples in England. This seems, however, rather far-fetched, for Ireland held peculiarly aloof from that civilization. This supposition, as well as that of the Italo-Byzantine derivation, seems unlikely also because of the different character of the Irish interlace. Whereas in Irish work there is generally but a double line, in these other examples the band is in three sections or ridges, showing a derivation, no doubt, from the braid or basket plait.[5] But in Syria,

[1] George Petrie, *Ecclesiastic Architecture of Ireland*, Dublin, 1872.

[2] Sir Edward Sullivan, *The Book of Kells* (London, 1914), p. 8, believes that the spreading ornament filling the spandrels of the arch in the Matthew page of the Book of Kells is derived from the *flabellum*, a sort of fan used in the Eastern Church from an early period.

[3] R. Forrer, *Die Graben und Textilefunde von Achmin*, Strassburg, 1898.

[4] R. Forrer, *Romanische und Byzantinische Seiden-Textilien*, Strassburg, 1898, Pl. XV. The cross and sceptre are held as Osiris held the symbols of office in ancient Egyptian art.

[5] See G. Coffey, *op. cit.*, and W. R. Lethaby, *The Origin of Knotted Ornamentation*, in *Burlington Magazine*, 1907, vol. X.

although knot patterns are very simple they are formed by only a double line. This is also the case in Egypt and so it appears on the Achmin tapestry mentioned above. Of course there are exceptions to these statements, but it is interesting to note that where these exceptions have been found in Italy, there has often been present a strong Irish influence. Once the idea of the interlace became established, the numerous possibilities for enlarging upon it were so enticing that there is little profit in seeking out analogies. One of the most complicated patterns, which would scarcely have been evolved twice, occurs in the Book of Kells. It is found again on a cross in Ulster, in an English Psalter of the eighth century, and in Carolingian work.[1] There is a marked difference between this type of interlace and that found in Saracenic art, where straight lines and a mathematical precision give a less happy result.

If the Irish displayed much originality in adopting the interlace, they were also ingenious in the use of the step pattern. This motive was sometimes used by them in the rectangular fret common to Greek and Roman art, but its principal occurrence was in diagonals.[2] Coptic textiles and Chinese bronzes both have these step patterns, but perhaps nowhere else was it used diagonally across perpendicular guide lines.[3] This seems to have been an Irish innovation and a very popular one. Its adaptation to fit an annular space as in the Book of Kells is a very clever one, but in this form the pattern was not unknown before. It is so used on a second-century bronze and silver dish of Syro-Mesopotamian origin now in the National Museum at Athens.[4]

An understanding of the progress of decoration in the manuscripts may be increased by a study of the brooches found in Ireland. Mr. R. A. Smith has made a careful study of these objects, classifying them over a period of five centuries.[5] He concludes that there is a similarity of style during the fifth and sixth, and into the seventh century, but that a great variety occurs in the eighth. Although there is little but internal evidence to go by, it would seem that brooches having scroll work which heralds that of the Book of Durrow may be as early as the sixth century. Gradually the pagan spiral and trumpet patterns are replaced by the Christian interlace, pagan lacertines, and figured drawing. The exquisitely wrought Tara Brooch probably dates from late in the eighth century. It is now believed [6] to be of Welsh workmanship in spite of its strong resemblance to certain parts of the Book of Kells. This is interesting because it more closely recalls a decorated arch above the Dance of

[1] An extensive study of the interlace may be found in J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part II.

[2] See panel in upper border of Fig. 22.

[3] J. R. Allen, *Celtic Art* (London, 1904), p. 281. Mr. Allen points out that the same guide lines which were used in the interlace were employed for the diagonal step pattern, which may account for its invention.

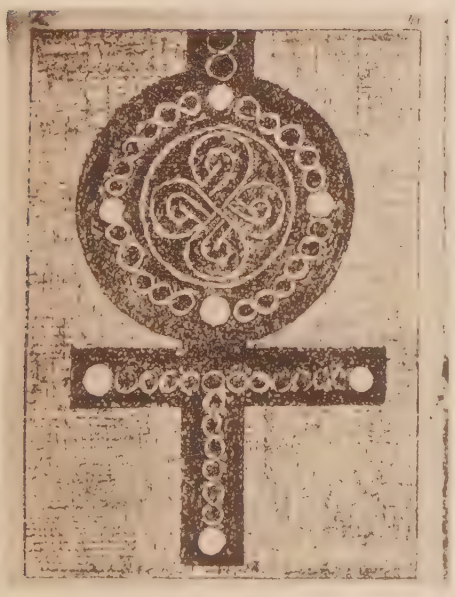
[4] O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art* (Oxford, 1925), p. 386.

[5] *Archaeologia* (London), vol. LXV, p. 223.

[6] *Ibid.*

14. Cambridge. St. John's College. *Psalter C9.* Crucifixion, fol. 38v.

15. Dublin. Trinity College. *Book of Kells,* fol. 32v. (*Ibid.*)



16. Achmin. Textile Fragment. (Forrer, *Die Frühchristlichen Alterthümer aus dem Graberfelde von Achmin-Panopolis*)

17. Achmin. Tapestry Fragment representing Christ. (Forrer, *Romanische und Byzantinische Seiden-Textilien*)

18. Lichfield. Cathedral Library. *Book of St. Chad,* fol. 142.

David in a manuscript done at Canterbury,[1] and shows another centre of art production springing up in southern England. Possibly the most marked eighth-century development is the Byzantine feeling for dividing a space into decorative panels.

Through lack of earlier manuscripts, perhaps too great an importance has been given to this Byzantine style at the expense of an even earlier and more Eastern influence. There was, however, a certain definite trend from this imperial art which crept into the Irish style. The Durrow Book has it somewhat, Kells even more, while such works as the St.-Gall manuscript 51 have marked similarities in the iconography.[2] In this manuscript the page depicting the Last Judgment has the arrangement of the Cosmas Indicopleustes representation. Zimmerman[3] has pointed out the tendency to accent the large initial, a custom which was begun in the Vienna Dioscorides. The popular old three-dot motive reappears again and again on Irish draperies and bolsters. Dalton [4] has discovered a similarity between Irish and Byzantine ultramarine not found elsewhere. This is important, for it tends to prove that the trade routes were kept open at that time, since the region of the upper Oxus was the only known source from which the essential lapis lazuli might be obtained. The Eusebian Canon Tables are regularly used, although by exception the customary arcade [5] is not drawn in the Book of Durrow. It is interesting to note that the bosses below the pilasters that separate the Canon Tables in the Book of Kells recall an architectural feature from a church in Armenia which strangely enough appears again at a later date at Santa María de Naranco in Spain.[6] Strzygowski [7] has pointed out many connections with Armenia. The extraneous decorations at the corners, which he has named akroteria, originated there. Another similarity is the sequence of Evangelist portrait and initial, which was a matter of course in Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts, but is not found in Roman ones. Single pages ornamented with a cross are also common to Irish and Oriental manuscripts.

These comparisons bring us to the arts of Northumbria in their great period. By 670 the crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle were erected, exceedingly accomplished works unparalleled elsewhere in Europe. Continued study has at last established their date and revealed their Armenian proto-

[1] British Museum Cotton Vespasian A. 1, Psalterium, fol. 30b. Illustrated in Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, Tafel 286a.

[2] These Gospels, done in the middle of the eighth century, are in the pure Irish style. The monastery of St.-Gall was founded by the Irish in the seven century.

[3] E. H. Zimmerman, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916), p. 24.

[4] O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

[5] The earliest example of the Canon Tables in an arcade is in the Gospels of Rabula, 587 A.D.

[6] See H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia* (London, 1901), vol. I, Fig. XIV, showing the porch of S. Saba. For Naranco, see G. G. King, *op. cit.*, Fig. XIX.

[7] J. Strzygowski, *Origin of Christian Church Art* (Oxford, 1923), ch. 9.

types.[1] The Lindisfarne Gospels [2] dating from 700 not only disclose an abundance of Irish patterns masterfully executed, but are actually built on a Latin original. The Franks Casket of quite a different order was also carved in the time of the Venerable Bede.[3] Although it has not the delicate skill shown in the Ormside cup of somewhat earlier date, it is interesting in showing the presence of conflicting styles used contemporaneously. The subjects range from Norse Sagas to ideas thought to have been derived from an illustrated history of the world first written by Theophilos of Alexandria. Sceattas [4] of Anglo-Saxon coinage from 600 to 750 A.D. are stamped with Romulus and Remus as on this casket, while the Adoration scene is characteristic of Syrian Palestine in the sixth century. The workmanship is undoubtedly that of a local craftsman. Certainly the ascendency in the arts at this time belonged to Northumbria, but this does not mean a decided waning of the importance of Ireland, for she produced work of the highest order long afterwards. It indicates, however, a new centre and new ideas, which held sway until York became prominent under the influence of Alcuin. Whereas Irish work was purely monastic,—the work of scholars in their cells who loved to parade their knowledge of Greek and by patient endeavor to perpetuate their fancies on superbly executed leaves of parchment,—in Northumbria we have a broader vision.

Many of these ideas soon found their way into Irish art. The Adoration scene which occurs on the Franks Casket, though rare in Ireland, may be found on the cross at Monasterboice. On the same cross is a representation of the seizure of Christ, which resembles a composition on the Franks Casket. This latter has been interpreted as the capture of the wife of Eadwacer. A page in the Book of Kells repeats this same arrangement of figures.

Furthermore, foliagenous scrolls, so foreign to the Irish conventions, may also be found in the Book of Kells (Fig. 15). Vines even grow from Syrian vases in a manner that recalls the carvings on the pillars from Acre now in Venice which, Strzygowski has pointed out, come from the same sources as the English crosses. It will be noticed that the spandrels of the arch in this same miniature contain peacocks drawn in a naturalistic manner and having a small cross on either wing. What can be the origin of this motive? Birds confronting one another are of frequent occurrence in early Christian art. The importance given to them, always two in number, one on either side of an arch or perhaps of the sacred monogram, indicates not merely that they are the result of a desire for symmetry or an attempt to represent both

[1] G. Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, vol. V, 1921.

[2] For a detailed account of these Gospels and a clear proof of the Italian influence, see Eric George Millar, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, London, 1923.

[3] O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum* (London, 1909), p. 29.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

19. Dublin. Trinity College. *Book of Durrow*, fol. 76v.

20. Sparta. Relief Sculpture. Omphalos Flanked by Birds

21. Petrograd. Museum Alexander III. Coptic relief Sculpture. (Grüneisen, *Les Caractéristiques de l'Art Copte*)

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sides of a single bird but rather that they are the survival of some important tradition.

I think we have a clue to this in Greek art, where the *omphalós* was often shown with a bird on either side. Sometimes their heads were turned (Fig. 20), sometimes they were facing one another beak to beak.[1] The reason for their appearance is made evident by an old Greek commentator on Pindar, who states that Zeus, wanting to determine the centre of the world, let fly eagles of equal speed from west and east. "They, winging their way in opposite directions, met at Pytho and by that very fact marked the central point of the whole world."[2] Of course originally the birds were always eagles, as belonging particularly to Zeus; but with the increased popularity of Apollo, the myth was rewritten and other birds substituted. With the Oriental influences which eventually played such an important part in the artistic expression of the Eastern Mediterranean region, birds of tropical brilliance came to be used, probably both because of their greater decorative effect and because of the desire for a new symbolism. We thus find peacocks guarding the Sacred Monogram as on a Ravenna Sarcophagus, or standing with heads gracefully turned as in this page from the Book of Kells. The source of this motive of peacocks with the vine has been ascribed to the sacred Assyrian tree and its animal guardians.

The Irish illumination reveals a combination of these classic and Oriental ideas which have survived in Christian usage. The Eucharist is symbolized by the classical cantharus, but its life-giving properties are emphasized by the Syrian vine motive which springs from the cup. The wafer with the cross which is drawn upon the wings of the peacocks is suggestive of their significance. In many cases, however, birds occur without the presence of the vine.[3] This is especially true in the early period of Christian art and seems to indicate that the idea very likely sprang from the eagles of the Greek *omphalós* representations.

The Irish, however, rarely took over ornament of a naturalistic nature, for it was foreign to their temperament. Their great delight was in the complicated interlace patterns. These were copied by artisans all over Europe. We cannot, then, when we find objects in this style combined with a Byzantine feeling, as in the chalice of Tassilo[4] or the Lindau Book cover, assert that they were made in Ireland. Indeed there seems to be little justification for the

[1] See W. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum, Mysia* (London, 1892), p. 32, Pls. 7, 8.

[2] See A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 179.

[3] A Greek inscription from Etschmiadzin, which Strzygowski dates from the fifth or sixth century, has two doves close to a circle containing the sacred monogram. Or again, a Syrian miniature at the beginning of the Etschmiadzin Gospels, which also go back to the sixth century, has birds on either side of a standard upon which is an oval object covered with a network design.

See J. Strzygowski, *Byzantinische Denkmaler* (Vienna, 1891), vol. I, p. 8, and Pl. II, Fig. 2.

[4] This was made for the Duke of Bavaria, 757–781 A.D.

belief that there was at this time any important artistic influence which reached directly from Italy to Ireland.

The early appearance of the Evangelist symbols in the Book of Durrow might seem to point to such a connection. These symbols, however, are unlike those at S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples, which are perhaps the earliest representation of the motive in Italy.[1] In the Durrow Book great decorative effect is sought from the use of the symbol alone, as in the Matthew page (Fig. 19). The same stylized rendering of the eagle may be found in a stone carving from Upper Egypt [2] which is now preserved in the Museum Alexander III at Petrograd (Fig. 21). The Christian significance of the latter is made obvious by the use of the cross. Although this carving may be comparatively late in date, it must continue the earlier Coptic tradition of which the remains at Bawît [3] give us some insight. In Irish manuscripts of a later date (Fig. 23), where the portrait of the Evangelist occurs as well as the symbol, the style is still strongly Coptic. The representation of the Evangelist writing his gospel, which became so popular in the art of Byzantium and in the West, did not find favor in Ireland.[4]

The page of the Temptation of Christ (Fig. 22) in the Book of Kells has been characterized as an extreme example of a Byzantine design Celticized. There is indeed a Byzantine quality in the crowding of the figures, and the subject occurs in the Psalter of Melissinda done in 1066, but the two are far apart in treatment as well as in date. In the Irish conception, the Temple of Jerusalem is represented as a shrine not unlike some of the reliquaries which have come down to us. Bede [5] in describing the tomb of Saint Chad, who died in 672, says that it was a wooden monument made like a dwelling house, with sloping roof and highly decorated sides. He continues to say that there was an opening in the wall through which those who came for devotion might take some of the dust as a curative for all infirmities. Could this type of structure have anything to do with this miniature and explain in some way the opening which reveals the figure of Christ? The portrayal certainly shows a great deal of symbolic significance.[6]

The so-called polychrome style which Irish manuscripts betray is thought

[1] See article by J. A. Herbert, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. XIII, p. 162; also O. Wulff, *Altchristlicher und Byzantinische Kunst* (Berlin, 1914), vol. I, p. 325.

[2] Grüneisen, *Les caracteristiques de l'Art Copte* (Florence, 1923), p. 67.

[3] J. Clédat, *Le Monastère et la Nécropole de Baoutît*, Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale au Caire, t. XII.

[4] The connection between the splendid page of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Codex Amiatinus has been pointed out by E. G. Millar, *op. cit.*

[5] *Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1903), bk. IV, ch. III.

[6] One of the most striking bits of symbolism is furnished by a group of skilfully drawn animals at the base of the X in the Monogram page of the Book of Kells. White mice, watched by two large cats, seem to be nibbling the Eucharistic bread. Can this refer to some Indian legend?

22. Dublin. Trinity College. *Book of Kells*. Temptation of Christ, fol. 202v (Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*)

23. Lichfield. Cathedral Library. *Book of St. Chad*, fol. 142

24. London. British Museum. Or. 6782, fol. 4. (Hyvernat phot.)

25. Saqqara. Fresco. (Quibell, *Catalogue des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Caire, Excavations at Saqqara*, 2)

26. Dublin. Trinity College. *Book of Kells*, fol. 7v. (Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*)

27. London. British Museum. Or. 7021, fol. 1v. (Hyvernat phot.)

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by some to have been diffused into Northern Europe through the mediation of Italy. Riegl [1] has characterized this decoration as the result of a changed psychology, an orientalization of taste which affected the Roman Empire and was thus transmitted. Centuries before this, however, the Celts, non-Greek in race, had found delight in the varied colors of the East through their contacts with the tribes in South Russia. The enamel-work of Britain makes this evident. Thus we are again able to connect Ireland with the East through Northern and Central Europe. Strzygowski [2] has laid much stress on the Northern and Southern temperament, and shown how a stream of art originating in the Iranian plateau flowed not only westward into Ireland, but at a much earlier date eastward into China.[3] He feels that the art of the South first mingled with this Northern stream in Ireland at about 600 A.D.

The Southern influence, which was mainly Coptic, must have influenced Irish art before this time. The startling finds of gold ornaments in Ireland which are of a type common in Spain, Africa, Syria, and Egypt furnish us with a bit of evidence. Mr. Coffey [4] has suggested that these objects may be of Hebrew character, and that Jews, fleeing from the Gothic invasion of Spain in the fourth century, may have settled in Ireland. Of course the important thing is their early date, which seems to be established.

The very early culture in Ireland is beyond dispute. That churches were elaborately decorated even in the fifth century is proved by a test from the Trias Thaumaturga.[5] We actually have the name of a fifth-century artist, one Coula,[6] who was especially gifted in the art, but we know nothing of his style. It must, however, have had a distinct Coptic flavor.

Unfortunately, to prove this point we must work with manuscripts several centuries later in date. The comparison of a page from the Book of Saint Chad (Fig. 23), an eighth-century work with a strong Irish feeling if not actually Irish, and a ninth-century Coptic manuscript (Fig. 24) now in the British Museum is suggestive. Here the Madonna sits on a throne built with two uprights and a cross-piece just above the shoulders. By her side stands an Evangelist. These uprights are very common in Irish work. In the Saint Chad manuscript, not only is Saint Mark in the same position, but the drapery is similarly rendered. In both there is an undergarment with a broad stripe in the middle which hangs down straight from the knees; an overgarment with sim-

[1] Alois Riegl, *Stilfragen*, Berlin, 1893.

[2] See article in *The Year Book of Oriental Art*, London, 1924.

[3] The similarity between certain Irish and Chinese patterns has long been noticed. Professor H. A. Giles has tried to show that Chinese trade reached Ireland at some remote period. C. J. Herringham in an article, *The Snake Pattern in Ireland, the Mediterranean and China*, in *Burlington Magazine*, vol. XIII, p. 132, has also failed to realize that the lacertines did not reach Ireland until after the Saxon invasions.

[4] *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. VIII, p. 38.

[5] Page 523, "*Ecclesia Kildariensis saec. V pictis et imaginibus dipictis ornata.*"

[6] *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. XX, p. 200.

ilar horizontal stripes slants off to the side, covering but one knee. There is the same peculiar scallop at the neck. A further comparison with Coptic work may be made with a fresco at Saqqara (Fig. 25). Here the Virgin is between two Archangels, as in the Book of Kells (Fig. 26). Both figures have the halo bordered with dots, and what is especially noticeable is the presence of three small Maltese crosses within. An Archangel in the Coptic manuscript (British Museum, 7021; Fig. 27) is very like those above the Madonna on this page. Another similarity with the Saqqara frescos is found in the drawing of the sandals, which are held on by a lace tied in a manner peculiar to the East. There is a figure of Saint Theodore spearing a serpent in a Coptic manuscript of the Vatican Library [1] which is an example of the utter disregard shown in this art for realistic drawing. The Saint is boldly drawn and in good proportion to the waist, but then the artist, deciding to place him on a horse, suddenly adds two small feet. The horse is graceful, but the other figures shown are quite out of scale. There is something in the treatment of Saint Theodore which reminds one of King David, who stands on a two-headed serpent in a page of the Cassiodorus Super Psalterium de Manu Bedae.[2] The shape of the head, the drawing of the hair and eyes, the long spear cutting diagonally across the picture are all reminiscent of the other work. A Coptic woodcarving now in the Museum Alexander III at Petrograd is not without interest in this connection, for the South cross at Castledermot has a similar figure.[3] Still another contact may be found in the exquisitely executed Lion of the Echternach Gospels (Fig. 29), which certainly recalls the not quite so rampant but likewise expressive one in a fresco at Bawît (Fig. 28). The drawing of the mane is especially interesting, for human figures in the manuscripts often have hair portrayed by a similar double line ending in a curve, a peculiar convention. These particular examples are important in showing how general tendencies of style may endure even in different mediums and in widely separated times and places.

It is then not difficult to imagine an influence which, made prominent through Coptic art, spread widely even to remote corners of Europe, where it became modified by what it found. This at least explains a certain quality which, though difficult to describe, is noticeable in early Spanish, Irish, and Libyan manuscripts.[4] Some woodcarvings from Abu Sargah [5] have this spirit. They are believed to be eighth-century work, and at first glance one thinks of the Spanish Beatus manuscripts; but details recall Irish work. In the

[1] *Grüneisen, op. cit.*, Pl. XLVI.

[2] Although this manuscript was done in Northumbria, it was inspired from Irish originals. See Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, Tafel 248.

[3] H. S. Crawford, *op. cit.*, Fig. 158, and Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXIII, Fig. 2.

[4] E. Wallis Budge has published several of these Libyan manuscripts.

[5] A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* (Oxford, 1884), p. 193.

28. Bawît. Fresco. (Clédat, *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français*, t. XIII, Baouit)

29. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Lat. 9839. *Gospels of Echternach*, fol. 75v. (Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*)

upper corner a bird is drawn in as elegant a manner as those above the portrait of one of the Evangelists in the Book of Kells.[1] The figures carry the long spear shafts with crosses on the ends which often appear in Irish work. Figures on horseback appealed greatly to the Coptic taste. The text of the Book of Kells contains such a one humorously treated. In general the work of upper Egypt has the same stylized rendering of the human figure with queer tubular drapery which Spain developed with more grace, and Ireland to a greater degree.

Evidence of this Egyptian influence in Ireland is by no means confined to manuscripts. The crosses, however, which have many representations of importance in this connection, were undoubtedly sculptured to a large extent with ideas which were derived from earlier manuscripts now lost. The representation of the Psychostasis [2] on the cross of Muiredach is probably the earliest example in Western Europe of this old Eastern conception which later became popular in Romanesque sculpture. It dates from 923. The treatment here, with the scales suspended from Heaven by a chain, is in accordance with the Iranian conception. Another idea which was popular in Egypt is the scene of Samson and the lion as represented on a cross at Old Kilcullen.[3] The subject probably originated in Mithraic work. Details such as these, which are full of significance in the trend of art, crop up frequently on the too little studied crosses of Ireland. Even in architecture we occasionally find a portal which is massive, rectangular, and splayed towards the ground in a manner which recalls the ancient monuments of Egypt. A doorway at Maghera is one of the earliest to reveal this architectural sense of proportion. At Kilcroney a later portal indicates the same trend, but it is a much more finished work and has a rather elaborately sculptured lintel. These portals are mentioned more because of their interest than because of any definite proof which they might furnish. It is not inconceivable to think of them as autochthonous developments from the remarkable examples of Cyclopean masonry which Ireland still preserves in considerable number. They of course suggest ancient Egypt rather than the Coptic or Christian influences which we have found so important.

In the sixth and seventh centuries Upper Egypt was in close contact with Asia Minor as well as with Alexandria. Thus it is not surprising that certain subjects, such as the Madonna and Child, which were taken from Syrian art, should occur on the Monza Ampuli in much the same manner. It was the great fame of the monasteries in Upper Egypt that spread these subjects — changed to the Coptic taste — and others of Coptic originality to distant Ire-

[1] These birds also occur in Coptic manuscripts. Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
[2] H. S. Crawford, *op. cit.*, Fig. 145.
[3] *Ibid.*, Fig. 131.

land. There they colored the culture which had early been derived from Gaul. There the Northern decorative spirit united with the Southern representational ideal, and there in the quiet of learned monasteries, away from the strife of a restless period, was produced one of the great achievements in Western art. One cannot say whether the best that was then produced has been preserved to us in the Book of Kells or not. What does now seem evident, however, is that Irish art at its greatest period was the result of continuous development of ideas which went back, first to South Russia, and then to Coptic Egypt. The essence of its greatness, however, must be sought in the Irish temperament which then, as in no other time, was in harmony with the finest ideals of the age.

NOTES ON SOME SPANISH FRESCOS

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1. San Miguel de Tarrasa. Elders

2. Vienna. Hofbibliothek. Cutbrecht Gospels. Evangelist Matthew. (E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Taf. 297)

3. San Miguel de Tarrasa. John the Evangelist

NOTES ON SOME SPANISH FRESCOS[1]

By CHARLES L. KUHN

I

It has been known for some time that frescos existed in the apse of the church of San Miguel at Tarrasa, but until the recent restorations carried on through the generosity of Señor Luis Plandiura they were too faint to be studied properly. The restorations consisted largely of cleaning, although some actual retouching certainly must have taken place. What has been brought to light, however, is of such great interest and importance for the history of Catalonian painting in the early Middle Ages that it almost justifies any repainting that may have been done.

The church dates back to Visigothic times and may once have been the baptistery of the Cathedral of Egara which was the seat of an episcopate from 450 to 711 A.D.[2] The building is of the central type with an eastern apse which is polygonal on the exterior and horseshoe on the interior. The frescos are on the vaulting of the apse.[3]

In the crown of the vault are faint traces of a cruciferous nimbus showing that a figure of the Lord was once represented there. The decorations surrounding this have been completely destroyed except for a kneeling saint with a circular halo, clad in a flowing tunic and mantle (Fig. 3). On the springing of the vault is a row of twelve kneeling figures, similar to the one above except that they have no mantles or halos (Fig. 1). Behind each figure is a pair of parted curtains similar to those used in many monuments as, for example, the mosaic of the sacrifice of Melchizedek in the church of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna and also in English manuscripts, as we shall see. In the midst of these figures are four circular motives resembling wheels. The entire composition ends in a simple zigzag border at the base of the vault. The background is composed of an all-over decoration of circles connected by straight lines. The figures are drawn in outline style in red-orange and orange-yellow pigments.

The iconography is a curious combination of the Apocalyptic Vision and the Vision of Ezekiel. The twelve kneeling figures were probably suggested by

[1] I am greatly indebted to Professors A. K. Porter and C. R. Post for their invaluable aid in the preparation of this article.

[2] J. Puig y Cadafalch and others, *L'Arquitectura Romànica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1911), vol. I, pp. 323 ff.

[3] Miss Georgiana Goddard King in *Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain* (New York, 1924), p. 58, suggests that the vaulting of the church is a later reconstruction.

apostles, but I doubt whether they are, since they have no halos. The kneeling figure above is St. John the Evangelist (Fig. 3), and the four wheels in the centre of the composition clearly indicate that the artist had the Vision of Ezekiel in mind. In theological writings the identification of Ezekiel's vision of God with the Apocalypse is as old as the Church Fathers.[1] Its earliest use in art that in any way resembles the Tarrasa composition is in the famous seventeenth chapel at Bawit in Egypt.[2] A composition even closer to Tarrasa is used in the Beatus manuscripts.[3] Here the Lord is seated above, surrounded by the four symbols of the Evangelists and the four wheels of Ezekiel. Below, the kneeling elders are depicted, and at the foot of the page is a prostrate St. John the Evangelist with an angel. The chief differences between the Beatus Vision and that at Tarrasa are the omission of the angel and the number of elders portrayed.[4]

The style of the frescos is strongly English. The kneeling elders with one hand raised to the mouth, are all in exactly the same position as the Evangelist Matthew in the Cutbrecht Gospels in Vienna (Fig. 2) and the *Codex Millenarius* from Kermsmünster.[5] Even the orange and yellow color scheme of the Cutbrecht Gospels strongly suggests the frescos.[6] The short parallel curving folds of the draperies at Tarrasa are exactly like those of the evangelists of the Lindesfarne Gospels.[7] Pairs of parted curtains, similar to those of the Tarrasa fresco, are characteristic of English manuscripts, appearing, for example, in the *Codex Aureus* of Stockholm.[8] The dot motive, which is used in the background of the frescos, is found regularly in Irish and English manuscripts. In the manuscript of Cassiodorus in Durham Cathedral, circles are used in the background of the miniatures of the Evangelists which strongly recall those of Tarrasa.[9] Another striking example of insular influence on Continental mural painting has been uncovered at the church of S. Procolo at Naturno in the Italian Tyrol.[10] The outline style used here in some ways resembles the style of Tarrasa but this must be due to a common source of inspiration rather than to any direct relationship.

[1] Wilhelm Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens*, Munster i. W., 1912.

[2] *Ibid.*, Fig. 28.

[3] Wilhelm Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends* (Bonn, 1922), Pl. 13, Figs. 35–37.

[4] All of the Beatus manuscripts depict more than twelve elders, but in only one, the Beatus of St.-Sever, is the full number of 24 portrayed.

[5] George Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei* (Leipzig, 1913), Pl. I.

[6] I have not see the original of this manuscript, so must depend for the color on the reproduction in Hermann Julius Hermann, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Handschriften des Abendlandes* (Leipzig, 1923), Pl. XI.

[7] George Millar, *The Lindesfarne Gospels* (London, 1923), Pls. XX, XXIV.

[8] E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916), Pls. 282, 283.

[9] *Ibid.*, Pls. 247, 248.

[10] Giuseppe Gerola, *Gli affreschi di Naturno*, in *Dedalo* (December, 1925), pp. 415–440. The frescos are here dated in the ninth century.

4. León. The Last Supper. (Winocio phot.)

5. León. The Betrayal. (Winocio phot.)

Certain elements in the Tarrasa paintings appear also in Mozarabic manuscripts. The large, staring, almond-shaped eyes with the pupils in the corners, used also in Cutbrecht Gospels, appear again and again in Mozarabic miniatures, but are peculiarly close to those in the *Biblia Hispalensis* in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, which is earlier than 988 A.D.[1] The motive of the background, with its circles connected by straight lines, is used on an impost block above a Visigothic capital in the mosque of Córdoba.[2]

It is, of course, possible that the frescos of Tarrasa may have been executed any time after the eighth-century manuscript from which they appear to be copied. There seems to have been in Spain a feeling against figure representation in Visigothic times. This iconoclasm was clearly expressed in the Council of Eliberri, when it was forbidden to have paintings in the churches.[3] After the Moorish invasion the pictorial arts usually contained representations only of the Lamb of God, the symbols of the Evangelists, and angels. Even in the great Mozarabic Bibles of the tenth century, the New Testament almost invariably lacks illustrations. I am able to mention only two Spanish monuments of the ninth century which contain figure representation. In the frescos at San Miguel de Linio (842–850 A.D.) one small human figure is portrayed. These frescos are presumably by the same artist as those in the church of San Julián de los Prados at Oviedo, where no figures appear. The second monument is the Beatus manuscript in the Morgan Library, written at the very end of the ninth century (894 A.D.). Moreover, in Catalonian illumination we find an instance of English influence lingering on at a very late date. In the fourth volume of the Bible of Roda the Apostle Andrew is strongly English and not unlike the Tarrasa frescos themselves.[4] The manuscript can be no earlier than the eleventh century.

In view of these facts, the frescos may be as late as the first half of the tenth century. Their importance in the history of Spanish painting is great. Not only are they the earliest extant example of Catalonian frescos, but they also seem to indicate that the outline style found in later illuminated manuscripts of Catalonia is derived directly from England rather than from some Continental school.

II

The establishment of a definite date for the frescos of the Panteón de los Reyes of the church of San Isidoro of León will help to solve many problems connected with Romanesque painting in Spain.[5] For many years opinions

[1] Cod. P. p. 15, (phot. Moreno). [2] Phot. Mas, No. 41,663.

[3] Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes* (Madrid, 1919), p. 323.

[4] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 6, fol. 8v.

[5] The frescos are fully reproduced in Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental de España, Provincia de León* (Madrid, 1925), Pls. 205–213.

have differed about these frescos, some scholars favoring an eleventh-century dating, some favoring the twelfth, while others have placed them as late as the early thirteenth century. The dispute has centred largely around the interpretation of an inscription in the fresco of the Crucifixion on the west wall of the building. The inscription is near the figure of a man at the foot of the cross and clearly reads, FREDENANDO REX (Fig. 6).

Those who argue for the earliest date consider the inscription to refer to Fernando I, king of León, who married Sancha of Castile and ruled over the two kingdoms from 1037 to 1065 A.D. D. Julio Pérez Llamazares, who supports this theory, considers that the portrait of Sancha appears in the scene of the Annunciation to the Virgin on the north wall of the Panteón.[1] The small female figure at the left is inscribed AN. . . . A, which he believes to be the name Sancha.[2] It is more probable, however, that the small figure is a representation of the handmaid of the Virgin and that the inscription should read AN[CILL]A.[3]

The chief supporter of the twelfth-century dating is Professor Manuel Gómez-Moreno, who considers the inscription to refer to king Fernando II (1157–1188). The queen he believes is represented by the female figure on the opposite side of the cross.[4]

An examination of the León frescos will show clear signs of repaint. The *Majestas Domini*, the most conspicuous and iconographically the most important of all the scenes, is in perfect condition, while the other frescos are more or less damaged, an unmistakable indication that the paintings have been tampered with.[5] In the fresco of the Last Supper, certain evidence of repaint is seen in the portrayal of the *gallus* (Fig. 4). It has no meaning in a scene of the Lord's Supper, a fact that leads me to believe that it did not exist in the original design but was added by a later hand, misunderstanding the subject. The cock in the Betrayal of Jesus, being in its original condition, is powerfully rendered and full of dash and life (Fig. 5). If we compare it with the bird painted by the restorer, we can see at a glance how dull and monotonous is his style. The repainting of the Panteón frescos must be comparatively ancient, for in a drawing of the building by Pascó, published in 1885, they appear to be in very much the same condition as at the present time.[6]

Fortunately the scene of the Crucifixion, although poorly preserved, is not repainted (Fig. 6). Even in its damaged condition it is far superior to the re-

[1] *Iconografía de la Real Colegiata de San Isidoro de León* (León, 1923), p. 184.

[2] Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental*, Pl. 205.

[3] I owe this suggestion to Professor A. Kingsley Porter.

[4] Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental*.

[5] The best reproduction of the *Majestas Domini* is in the article of H. Isherwood Kay in *Spanish Art* (Burlington Magazine Monograph, II; London, 1927), Pl. 1 B.

[6] José M. Quadrado, *Asturias y León*, in *España, sus monumentos y artes, su naturaleza e historia* (Barcelona, 1885), p. 489.

6. León. The Crucifixion. (Winocio phot.)

7. Arlanza. Christ Enthroned. (A. K. Porter phot.)

stored frescos. A minute inspection of the wall surface of this painting near the female figure at the foot of the cross has revealed faint but clear traces of two letters of an inscription . . . CA. Although Sancha's name was sometimes written *Sancia*, there is no space between the C and the A for an I to have been painted, so that the fragmentary inscription cannot refer to the wife of Fernando I.

Two of the three wives of Fernando II were called Urraca, a name that fits perfectly with the inscription. It is true that Fernando I had a daughter of the same name who, as Miss King points out, carried on the building of the church of San Isidoro after the death of her father,[1] but the inscription certainly cannot refer to her. The ivory crucifix now in the Museo Arqueológico of Madrid and executed during the reign of Fernando I is inscribed FERNANDUS REX SANCHA REGINA.[2] This shows beyond a doubt that when the king had his name inscribed on a monument it was customary to couple it with that of his wife.

The problem still remains to determine to which of the two Urracas the inscription belongs. Fernando II married Doña Urraca of Portugal in 1165 and separated from her before 1175. The war with Portugal and the capture of Alcántara were the chief events during this period.[3] In 1175 he married Teresa de Lara, who died three years later. His third wife, Urraca López, daughter of Count Lope Díaz, he took in 1178. In 1177, the year before his marriage, Fernando led an expedition against the Moors at Seville,[4] and it is possible that the Panteón was decorated to commemorate it.

It is certain, at any rate, that the two figures at the foot of the cross in the fresco are portraits of the second Fernando and Urraca. The small figure behind the queen must be her handmaid, and the figure behind the king is his shield-bearer. The frescos, therefore, must have been executed between 1165 and 1188. If it is Urraca López who is depicted, the date of the frescos falls between 1178 and 1188. This tends to confirm the theory of Gómez-Moreno, who places the paintings about 1180.

There is a certain likeness of the León frescos to some of the Ottonian miniatures of the eleventh century in the great flapper-like hands and the stylization of the faces.[5] This analogy, however, is another of the many instances of an earlier style lingering on in Spain, rather than evidence for an eleventh-

[1] Georgiana Goddard King, *The Way of St. James* (New York, 1920), vol. II, p. 189.

[2] A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), Pl. 654.

[3] Henrique Florez, *Memorias de las Reynas Catolicas*, in *Historia Genealogica de la Casa Real de Castilla y de Leon* (Madrid, 1761), vol. I, pp. 319–326.

[4] Antonio Ballesteros y Bereta, *Historia de España y su influencia en la Historia Universal* (Barcelona, 1920), vol. II, p. 275.

[5] Compare, for example, the Annunciation to the Shepherds of the Panteón (Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental*, Pl. 206) with the same subject in the Bamberg Apocalypse (Heinrich Wolfflin, *Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, Munich, 1923, Pl. 58).

century dating. The presence of kite-shaped shields in the scene of the Slaughter of the Innocents cannot be used as an argument against the later dating of the frescos.[1] Similar shields are used in the twelfth-century Bible in the archives of the León Cathedral. This Bible was written during the reign of Fernando II, as it bears the date 1160. It is very surely a product of the *scriptorium* of León, since it is a free copy of a Mozarabic Bible there executed two centuries earlier and now in the treasury of San Isidoro. The kite-shaped shield is used at least as late as the thirteenth century in Spanish art. A late example may be seen in the polychromatic wooden statue of St. Margaret now in the museum of the Seminary of Lérida. The use of this type of shield after 1175 is very exceptional, however.

The recent restorations of the cloister of San Isidoro have brought to light a hitherto unknown fragment of fresco on the outer wall of the Panteón. It is a small crouching figure in an attitude of adoration and is by the same hand as the other paintings.

III

The mural decorations of the chapter room of the ruined monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza (Burgos) were first mentioned in the brief article by J. Chapée in the *Revue de l'art chrétien* to which a note is added by D. Luciano Huidobro.[2] The frescos, as they now exist, consist of a series of large, fanciful monsters in the clerestory, below which is a smaller frieze of grotesques (Fig. 10). Under an arch at the base of the east wall of the room is a figure of Our Lord enthroned between the sun and the moon (Fig. 7). These frescos are rapidly disintegrating, and a figure of a saint described by Sr. Huidobro has already disappeared.

A notice of the eleventh-century painter Gudesteo working at Arlanza has come to light. In the manuscript of Juan de Pereda of Covarrubias it is stated that he decorated the walls of the chapter room with biblical subjects.[3] These frescos no longer exist, but Sr. Huidobro discovered an inscription near the figure of the Pantocrator, which he took to be the signature of Gudesteo. If he was correct in this interpretation, the inscription belonged to a series of paintings earlier than the extant ones, which are certainly later than the twelfth century. The inscription has since disappeared.

The frescos still *in situ* contain elements which appear much earlier in mediaeval art. The frieze of monsters turns up in the apse frescos of the church at Termeno (Bolzano) in the Italian Tyrol. Here, however, the figures

[1] Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo Monumental*, Pl. 207.

[2] Vol. LXII, No. 5, September–October, 1912, pp. 380, 381.

[3] Luciano Huidobro, *El Monasterio de San Pedro de Arlanza y su primer Compendio historial, inédito*, in *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Burgos* (Burgos, 1924), Año III, No. 7.

8. Perazancas. Portal. (A. K. Porter phot.)

9. Perazancas. Apse. (A. K. Porter phot.)

10. Arlanza. Clerestory Frescos. (A. K. Porter phot.)

are derived from bestiaries. On the south wall of Arlanza an architectural motive is portrayed which is clearly Romanesque. It contains an arcade of two round arches left hanging or unsupported where they meet in the centre. This motive appears in the tomb of Doña Godo taken from Arlanza in 1896 and now in the cloister of the cathedral of Burgos. It is dated 1075 or 1105 by an inscription. The tomb may well have served as a prototype for the Arlanza painting. The smaller frieze of grotesques immediately below the large one strongly suggests the marginal figures of thirteenth-century manuscripts and is quite Gothic in spirit. An occasional detail, however, recalls an earlier art. The rearing goat, for example, is used in the Annunciation to the Shepherds of the Panteón at León. These rearing goats were found at least as early as the tenth century in Spanish painting, for they are used to decorate the corner of a page in the *Codex Emilianensis* of the Escorial library, dated 992 A.D.[1] On another page of the same manuscript, a goat is used as a marginal decoration.[2]

The segmental arched windows at Arlanza clearly belong to a period at least as early as the frescos themselves. Although more characteristic of late Gothic and Renaissance architecture, occasional instances of their use appear in earlier monuments. An example is found in the Casa Consistorial at Lérida, a building which dates from the twelfth century or earlier.[3]

In spite of the early elements in the Arlanza frescos, their style is clearly transitional to Gothic.[4] The earliest stylistic analogy I am able to mention is the capitals above the jamb figure of the west portal of the church of San Juan del Mercado at Benavente (Zamora) which date from the late twelfth century. The grotesque birds with human heads on these capitals are extremely like those of the smaller frieze at Arlanza. Curiously, the north portal of the same church has a scalloped arch and mouldings strikingly like the arches on the tomb from Arlanza at Burgos. Similar series of grotesques are used in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century on the capitals of the exterior gallery of the south side of San Martín of Segovia,[5] on the capitals of the west portal of the cathedral of Orense of the early thirteenth century,[6] and on the capitals of the early thirteenth-century tomb of a Templar in the church of La Magdalena at Zamora.[7] The tympanum reliefs of this tomb recall the large frieze of monsters at Arlanza.

In painting, the most striking analogy to Arlanza is in the Beatus manuscript of 1220 A.D. in the Morgan Library in New York. Here again the large

[1] Cod. J. D. 1, fol. 12.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 104v.

[3] This example was called to my attention by Professor C. R. Post.

[4] Gómez-Moreno, in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, vol. LXXXVI, pp. 13–16, dates the frescos about 1132.

[5] Phot. Arthur Byne.

[6] Porter, *op. cit.*, Pls. 855, 856, and 859.

[7] Phot. Arthur Byne.

series of fanciful animals is portrayed in much the same spirit.[1] The facial types of the figures in the manuscript, with their rather dull, expressionless faces and simplified drawing, are similar to the face of the personification of the sun to the left of Our Lord at Arlanza (the face of the Christ having been repainted).

From the above comparisons, it seems safe to assume that the frescos of Arlanza were painted during the third decade of the thirteenth century.

IV

A hitherto unpublished fresco has recently come to light in the hermitage of San Pelayo near the village of Perazancas in the province of Palencia (Cervera de Pisuerga).[2] The church has a single nave and semicircular apse. The nave is a later reconstruction, as is clearly indicated by a break in the masonry (Fig. 9). It has a wooden roof, while the apse is vaulted with a semi-dome. Built into the jamb of the portal of the church is a very fragmentary inscription which reads:

. . . OAN . . . . . APAS
. . . RONARF . . . PELAIO:

The epigraphy of this inscription indicates that it probably belonged to an earlier building. The capitals of the portal, as well, are earlier than the present structure (Fig. 8). They are not unlike those of the Visigothic churches of Santa Comba de Bande in Galicia or San Miguel of Tarrasa.[3] The decoration of the exterior of the apse, with its engaged columns, its arched corbel tables, and its billet mouldings, is characteristic of Catalonian architecture of the first half of the twelfth century (Fig. 9). It is very similar to the subsidiary apses of San Clemente de Tahull, which is dated 1123.[4]

The interior of the apse has been completely whitewashed, but there is clear evidence that underneath, the entire surface is frescoed. On the south jamb of the triumphal arch, the whitewash has been scraped away in a careless manner, revealing a splendid figure of a saint, possibly a canonized bishop (Fig. 11). He is bearded, has a tonsored head-dress, and is clad in a chasuble of Venetian red with a yellow ochre border which is decorated with black lozenges and circles. Behind the figure the background is decorated in three broad horizontal bands of yellow and red ochre.

[1] MS. 429, fol. 13.

[2] The honor of the discovery of this fresco belongs to D. Luciano Huidobro of Burgos.

[3] King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain*, Pls. XI and XV.

[4] J. Puig y Cadafalch, *The Decorative Forms of the First Romanesque Style*, in *Art Studies*, 1926, Fig. 40. Unlike the Tahull apse, the Perazancas corbel-tables have not the projecting second order which Sr. Puig (p. 22) recognizes as a late motive in Spain.

11. Perazancas. Fresco. (A. K. Porter phot.)

12. San Clemente de Tahull. Head of Christ. (Vidal phot.)

The costume of the figure gives no aid in the dating of the frescos, so we are completely dependent on the architecture of the apse and the style of the painting. We have seen that the apse is architecturally similar to San Clemente de Tahull. From this latter church we are fortunate in having one of the rare authentically dated frescos in Spain. The date of the consecration of the church, December 3, 1123, appears in a frescoed inscription on one of the columns of the building.[1]

The apse decorations of this church represent the culmination of stylization in Spanish Romanesque mural painting. In the face of the Christ (Fig. 12), the high-lights are reduced to symmetrically placed spots of white; the color in the cheeks is represented by geometric circles of red; the hair and beard are reduced to a perfectly balanced pattern; and the whole gives an impression of great austerity and force.

Although the Perazancas fresco belongs to a region quite distant from Catalonia and possibly to a slightly different artistic tradition, a comparison with Tahull proves helpful. The drawing of the face of the saint still preserves a pattern-like symmetry. Already, however, the force and the majesty of the Tahull Christ have been reduced to a delicate ascetic emaciation by the mannerism of drawing heavy circles under the eyes and on the cheeks of the saint. This decline in vigor certainly indicates that the figure is later than the Tahull fresco.

Faint traces of this emaciation can still be seen in the face of the Christ of the Last Supper of León (Fig. 4), but the heavy lines under the eyes have disappeared. The result is a weak, almost meaningless expression.

It thus appears that the Perazancas fresco falls somewhere between León and Tahull, that is, between 1123 and 1180. It was probably executed in the second quarter of the twelfth century, about 1140–1150, and is contemporary with the construction of the apse.

V

The knowledge of the existence of a Gothic fresco in the apse of the little Romanesque church of San Lorenzo at Zorita del Páramo, in the province of Palencia (Cervera de Pisuerga), may be of interest to students of Spanish painting. The apse at present is blocked by a modern retable which makes access disagreeable, visibility difficult, and photography almost impossible.[2]

The scene portrayed in the half-dome of the apse is a Last Judgment. The Saviour is in the centre of the composition, seated on a rainbow, his feet

[1] The Tahull frescos are now in the Barcelona Museum (Nos. 77–86). They have been published by Joaquín Folch y Torres, in *Museo de la Ciudadela, Catálogo de la Sección de Arte Románico* (Barcelona, 1926), p. 134 ff.

[2] In the archives of Simancas is a notice of an altar-piece of St. Lawrence executed for the church of San Lorenzo de Zorita and completed on October 2, 1487. It would be interesting to know if this painting still exists.

resting in the clouds. In his right hand he holds a standard and in his left, a sphere symbolic of the world. To his right and left are the symbols of the Evangelists Mark and Luke holding graceful banderoles containing Gothic lettering. If the other two evangelists were ever represented, they have since been destroyed or are hidden by the retable. The inscriptions on the scrolls are difficult to read but as far as could be seen in the poor light, they are:

DIES TUNC
NOUS . . . ERES . . .

and

ME VERO DIES
ET ADJUDICANTUR.

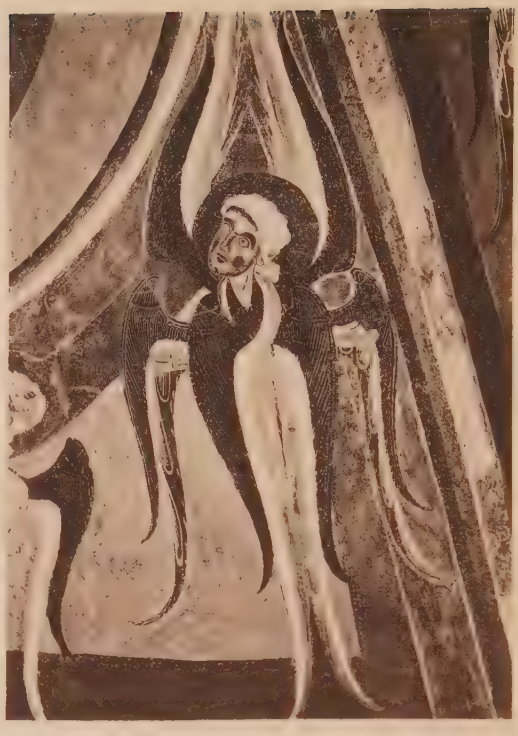
The background of the fresco is blue, sprinkled with stars.The lower edges of the painting show evidence of being carefully destroyed, perhaps by some over-pious person who objected to the nude figures of a resurrection.

The painting probably was executed in the first half of the fifteenth century by a provincial artist whose style harks back to an earlier period. The graceful form and the lettering of the banderoles are similar to those in the fresco of the Last Judgment in the apse of the Old Cathedral of Salamanca by Nicholas the Florentine (perhaps Dello di Niccolo Delli, who worked in Spain from 1432 to 1460). The style of the Zorita del Páramo master comes out of a manuscript tradition which lives on into the sixteenth century, as can be seen in a miniature in the Apocalypse of the Escorial Library which is similar in composition and spirit to the fresco.[1]

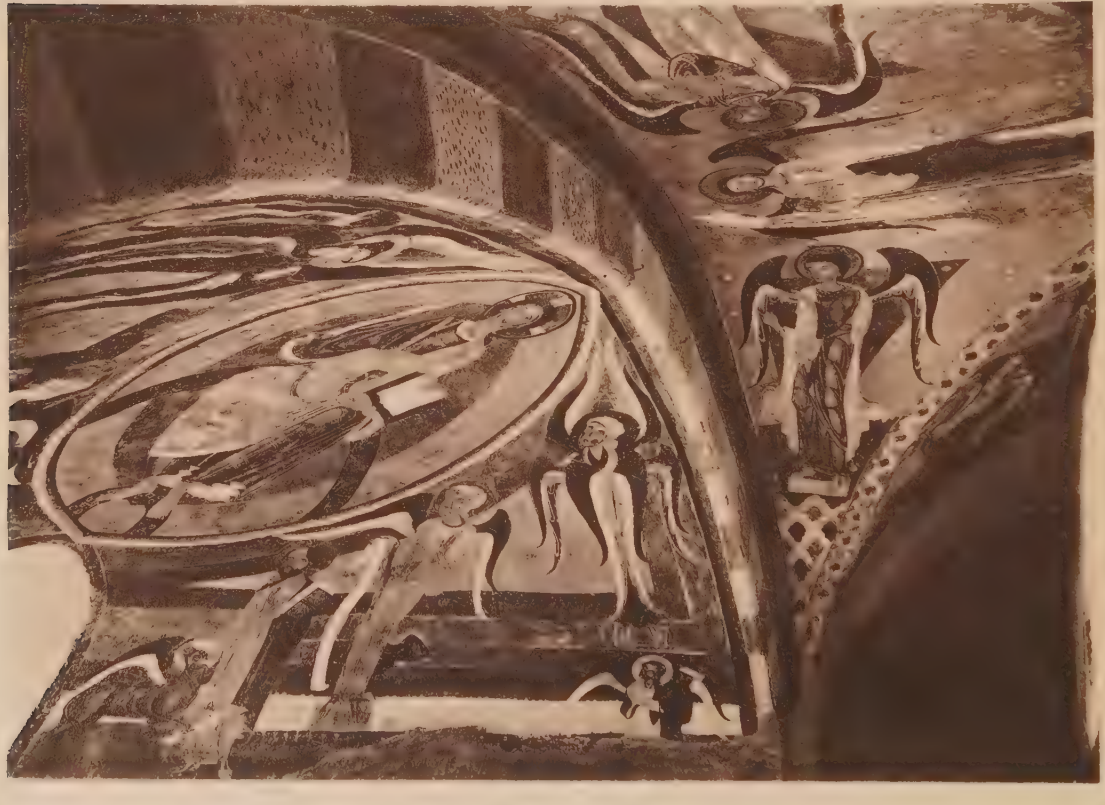
[1] Cod. 2 F 7, fol. 4 (phot. Moreno).

GLI AFFRESCHI ROMANICI A MONTE MARIA DI BURGUSIO

1. Monte Maria di Burgusio.
Affreschi della cripta



2. Monte Maria di Burgusio.
Affreschi della cripta



3. Monte Maria di Burgusio. Affreschi della cripta

GLI AFFRESCHI ROMANICI A MONTE MARIA DI BURGUSIO

Di ANTONIO MORASSI

Le scoperte di affreschi romanici fatte per cura del Governo italiano nella Venezia Tridentina [1] in questi ultimi anni, hanno aperto un nuovo campo di studi all'indagine storico-artistica. Oltra mezza dozzina di nuovi complessi figurativi, d'una bellezza insospettata, sono apparsi agli occhi dello studioso dell'arte romanica, attonito di tanta varietà e ricchezza di monumenti pittorici.

L'importanza di tali scoperte non è ancora possibile di valutare appieno. I lavori continuano assidui, e portano d'anno in anno a luce nuovi tesori.

Siamo di fronte ad una fioritura rigogliosa, degna di stare accanto ai più celebri cicli contemporanei d'Italia, alle più notevoli creazioni della pittura romanica catalana o provenzale. Nuovi rapporti, nuove prospettive si schiudono dinanzi a quel cosmo meraviglioso ch'è l'arte romanica; una vitalità artistica intensa si delinea nelle vallate alpine, e getta fasci di luce su gli scambi con altri paesi lontani, scambi di concetti e di forme del tutto inattesi, dei quali ancora non possiamo precisare gli itinerari, ma che dobbiamo constatare come una realtà inoppugnabile.

Senza dire dell'impressionante ciclo di pitture preromaniche di Naturno, illustrate dal Gerola [2] alludo qui in ispecie agli affreschi di Terres, Romeno, San Zeno, Grissiano, San Pietro di Querazze e Castel Appiano [3] dianzi completamente ignoti, ed ora scoperti e restaurati per cura della R. Soprintendenza all'arte di Trento. Alludo altresi alle pitture già in parte note, che noi abbiamo ora scoperte del tutto a Termeno ed a Monte Maria di Burgusio. Su tutto codesto ricco materiale ci riserviamo di parlare ampiamente in altra sede.

Pertanto non sarà discaro ai lettori di questa Rivista, che mi trattenga oggi sugli affreschi di Monte Maria, ripuliti e restaurati di recente, offrendo una primizia fotografica, e saggiando un tema per alcuni versi ancora inesplorato.

Il convento dei Benedettini di Monte Maria s'innalza colla sua bianca mole sopra il paesello di Burgusio, nell'Alta Val Venosta, a 1300 metri sopra

[1] La Regione della "Venezia Tridentina" comprende le Provincie di Trento e di Bolzano.

[2] G. Gerola, *Gli affreschi di Naturno*, in *Dedalo* (Milano-Roma, 1925), fasc. 7.

[3] A. Morassi, *Affreschi romanici di Castel Appiano*, in *Bollettino del Ministero della P. I.* (Milano–Roma, aprile 1927).

il livello del mare, tra fitte boscaglie d'abeti, solitario dominatore della larga ed ubertosa vallata.

Circa la sua storia c'informa esattamente la "cronaca" d'un abate e priore di Monte Maria, Padre Gosvino, morto nel 1390.[1] Ci narra questi che il convento fu fondato dal Conte Ulrico di Traspes, proveniente dall'Engadina, ma originario di famiglia romana domiciliata poi a Milano,[2] accanto ad una già esistente cappella dedicata alla Vergine, da cui il luogo trasse il nome di Santa Maria. Gli stessi primi monaci diedero mano ai lavori di costruzione della cripta, che fu consacrata nel 1163 da Adelgoso, Vescovo di Coira.[3] L'imagine di lui era dipinta nella cripta, illustrata dai seguenti versi: *Presul Adelgosus — ad cuncta decencia promptus — consecrat hanc criptam — divinis usibus aptam.*[4]

Accadde in seguito che Uta, moglie di Udalrico, fattasi monaca, si recasse in Terra santa, ove morì. Udalrico stesso vestì allora l'abito benedettino, e spentosi l'anno 1177,[5] fu sepolto a Monte Maria.[6]

Uta ed Udalrico furono raffigurati nella cripta; questi in effige di pellegrino, con una palma marina in mano, vestito di pelo ispido (veste irsuta); la moglie in abito monacale. Sopra le figure si leggevano (e, come vedremo in seguito, in parte si leggono) i seguenti versi:

Munera fert Christo, que mundo subtrahit isto
Dominus Ulricus divino flamine tactus
Ad templi cultum studet hic impendere multum,
Et cum devota Christo benedicitur Uta;
In domini templo tua munera ferre memento!
Fecit Udalricum dantem sibi Christus amicum,
Nomine celesti donantes dextera Christi
In celis signet ac sibi consociet.
Huic operi dona donat Ulricus et Uta.
Ut deus hisque pia succurrat virgo Maria!

[1] *P. Bas. Schwitzer, Chronik des Stiftes Marienberg verfasst von P. Goswin*, Wagner (Innsbruck, 1880).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 55, nota: "nam veridica relatione dicitur, quod primo parentes fundatoris nostri sive ipse fundator cives fuerint romani, et ab urbe digredientes Mediolanum pervenerunt; sed illa civitas tantos viros ferre non volens ipsos a finibus suis depulerat, sicut antiquitatus apostolos Iudei; et hoc in castro Trasps apertissime videtur in camera, in qua dormire solebat." Probabilmente esisteva quivi un albero genealogico, o qualche iscrizione illustrativa in proposito. Il castello di Taraspo si elevava sulla sponda destra dell'Inn. Quale fosse in origine il nome della famiglia del Conte Ulrico non ci è dato sapere. Chiamò egli stesso il castello che fece erigere Traspes: Tra-spes: Tradita spes.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 60: "Seniores eciam fratres referre solebant, quod primitus in domo, que est apud cappellam sancte Marie, conventus reficere ac dormire solebant," . . . Et pro inchoatione monasterii criptam iniciatam compleverunt, que consecrata est anno dominice incarnacionis Millo CLX° tercio idus Julii a venerabili curiensis ecclesie episcopo Adelgozo. La data del 1163 è in contraddizione colla data 1156 che sta a p. 82, *ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 58, "creditur quod ipse fundator noster et domina Uta et filius suus et forte fratres sui in tumba, quam sibi paraverat sint tumulati."

4. Monte Maria di Burgusio. Affreschi della cripta

5. Monte Maria di Burgusio. Affreschi della cripta

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Sopra la tomba di Ulrico v'era quest'altra iscrizione:

Frivola queque ratus habitum sumit monachatus
Et famulus Christi fit, dum se mancipat isti,
Sic nemo perit, qui vite premia querit,
Sic merito meret, qui mundi rebus adheret.[1]

ed egli stesso era rappresentato quale guerriero sopra il sepolcro, e teneva in mano una carta (un cartiglio, o un rotolo?) con l'elenco dei beni da lui e da sua moglie donati al convento:

" *Vere mundanis spretis sume pro parte quietis*
Predia signata donant Ulricus et Uta."

e qui seguiva la distinta dei tredici possedimenti dati in dono.[2]

Delle pitture descritte da Gosvino ben poco si è conservato: nel soprarco dell'absidula sinistra (ch'era dedicata a S. M. Maddalena) si leggono ancora le seguenti lettere a bei caratteri capitali romanici: IN HOC ALTARI III IDVS JVLII CONSECRATO VEL DEDICATO A VENERABILI ADELGOZZO. . . .[3]

A destra dell'abside centrale si vede invece la parte superiore del dipinto che raffigurava Ulrico ed Uta, e si leggono ancora abbastanza chiaramente le due prime righe più sopra riportate.

Si scorge, in alto, una mano che esce dalle nuvole con una bandiera crociata (?) e a sinistra, la parte superiore di Uta (?) inginocchiata colle mani giunte. Nulla della figura di Ulrico guerriero, nulla della figura del Vescovo Adelgozzo. Ci resta invece, a compenso di tale perdita, la decorazione pittorica dell'abside centrale, quasi completa e mezza campata della prossima vela a crocera della nave.

Ma occorre dire anzitutto come quelle antiche pitture andarono distrutte. Consacrata nel 1201 la chiesa superiore, andò scemando l'importanza della costruzione primitiva, la quale si trasmutò in cripta e in luogo di tumulazione.[4] Fu così che l'ambiente sotterraneo venne sottratto al culto, e ancora al tempo dell'abate Giovanni II° († 1320) furono demoliti alcuni altari di pura malta;[5] e infine il vano fu ingombrato da una costruzione per immurarvi le tombe dei frati, lasciando libera soltanto la parte verso le absidi. La quale, avendo perduto il significato originario, fu coperta da una mano di scialbo. E così rimase per secoli.

Fu lo stesso attuale abate di Monte Maria, Padre Leo, che, animato dalla lettura della Cronaca Gosviniana, volle ricercare le decorazioni antiche, e

[1] Schwitzer, *Chronik des Stiftes Marienberg*, p. 61. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

[4] Le date di consacrazione dell' abside (1163) e quella della chiesa superiore (1201) sono quindi i termini entro i quali furono eseguiti i nostri affreschi.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

verso il 1890 le liberò dalla calce. Ma il suo lavoro, condotto empiricamente, fu completato con metodo scientifico appena nel 1927, come s'è detto più sopra.[1]

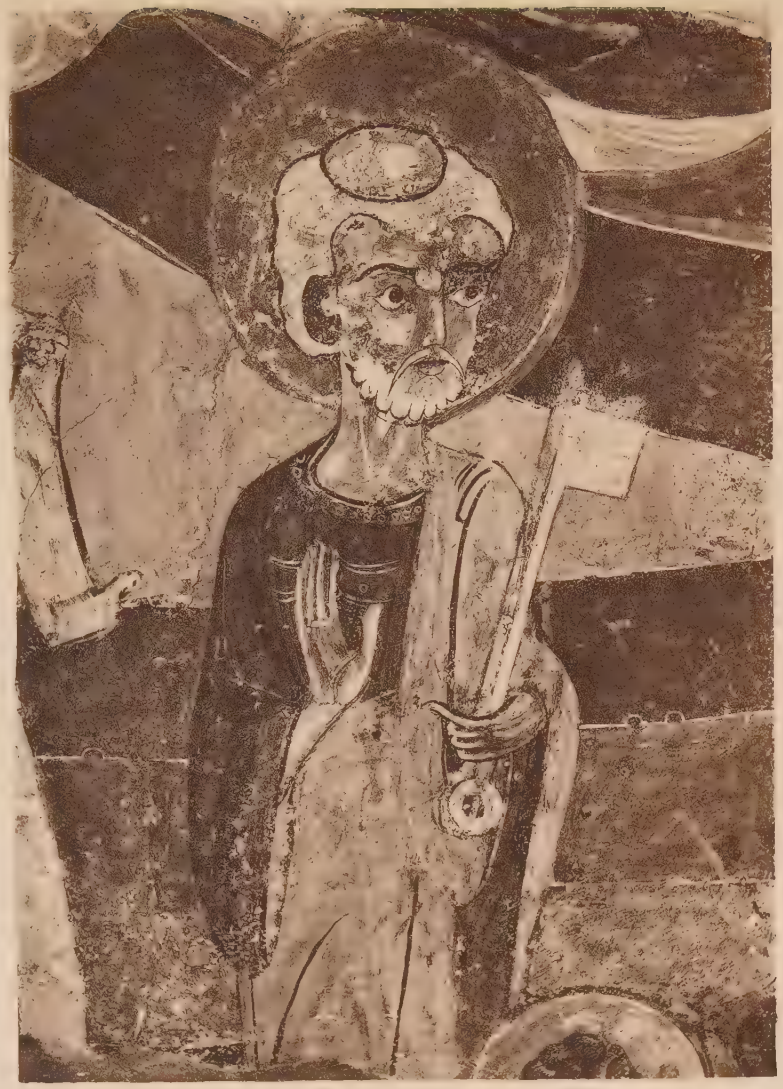
La cripta, che in origine si estendeva libera per tutta la lunghezza della chiesa, ha tre absidi: una centrale, e due laterali molto più piccole, quest' ultime ricavate dallo spessore del muro, nel mentre la prima sporge all'esterno in forma rettangolare. Nella centrale v'era un altare dedicato ai Santi Pietro e Paolo, nell'abside sinistra uno a Santa Maria Maddalena, e nella destra ai Santi Martino e Nicolò, tutti e tre consacrati nel 1160 da Adelgoso. Tre finestrelle, ciascuna nel centro dell'abside, illuminano la cripta. Tra l'abside di centro e quelle laterali si aprivano nel muro due porticine (oggi murate) che conducevano al sottostante giardino. Il pavimento originario era d'un metro più basso dell'attuale. Oggi si entra nella cripta dalla navata sinistra della chiesa superiore, per una improvvisata scaletta di legno.

La decorazione pittorica si presenta nella sua vivacità coloristicà, d'un effetto sorprendente. Il Cristo troneggia nella mandorla di luce, seduto sopra una fascia a semicerchio e coi piedi poggiati sopra un'altra fascia tonda, concentrica alla superiore. Egli è rappresentato di tutta fronte, completamente sbarbato,[2] colla destra alzata in atto di benedire, la sinistra poggiata sopra un libro aperto. Ha gli occhi sbarrati e lo sguardo fisso, sperduto nel vuoto; i capelli lunghi che gli scendono dalla scriminatura del mezzo del capo sino alle spalle. Un nimbo tondo crociato ne inquadra il capo. Indossa Egli un'ampia clamide foderata in bianco, con un leggero disegno a righe e cerchietti. Sopra di essa è gettato un mantello chiaro che dalla spalla sinistra copre metà del corpo sino alla caviglia destra. I due cerchi su cui Cristo siede e poggia i piedi sono ornati da quadrettini ed elissi significanti probabilmente pietre preziose. Giova ritenere che i due cerchi rappresentino il regno divino e il regno terrestre. Il fondo dietro a Lui è verde chiaro, cerchiato da una larga fascia azzurra. Il nimbo stesso è segnato da quattro striscie strette che vanno dal bruno scuro all'ocra e al bianco.

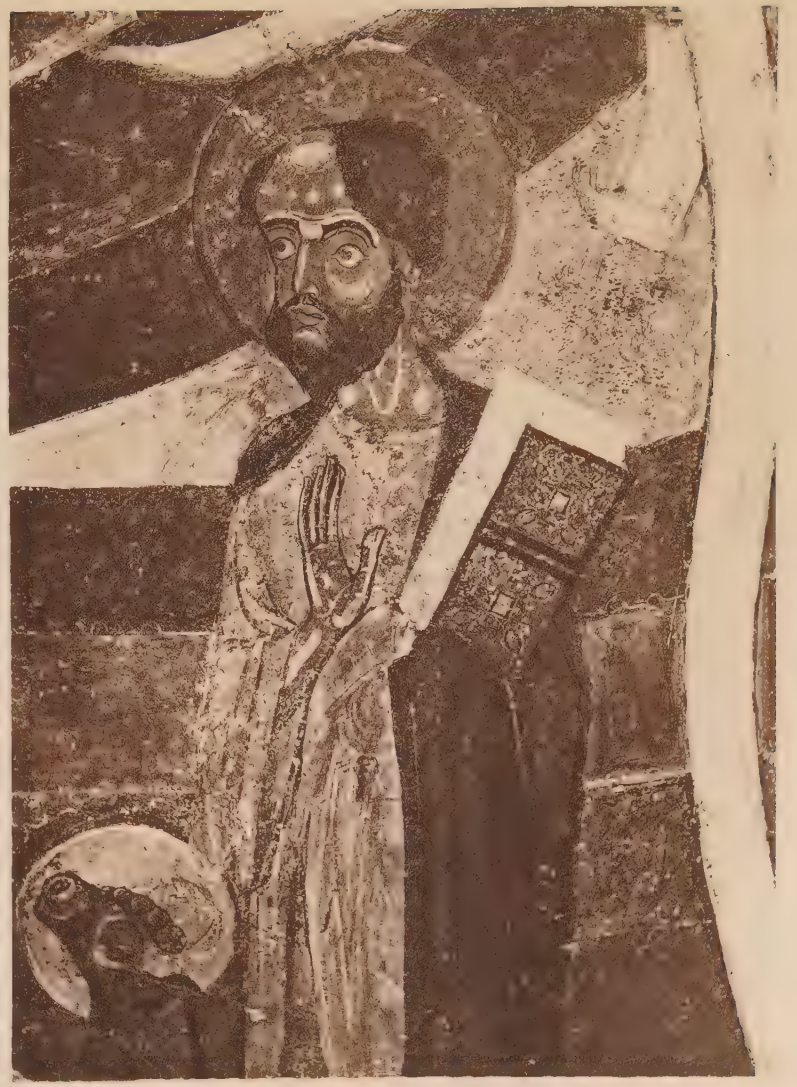
Ai lati del Cristo aleggiano in alto due cherubini con il corpo fatto d'ali brune e bianche, da cui sporgono soltanto la testa, le mani attaccate al corpo e i piedi che escono da un lembo di veste azzurra. Più bassi stanno due angeli alati, in lunga tunica bruno-chiara, su cui è gettato un mantello azzurro. Sollevano una mano in atto di meraviglia, nell'altra tengono un lungo carti-

[1] Sotto la direzione della R. Soprintendenza di Trento, il Prof. Tullio Brizi consolidò gli intonaci cadenti, otturò le fenditure che boccheggiavano, fissò le parcelle di colore scrostato. Ripulì quindi dai resti della calce figure e sfondi, riempiendo con tinta neutra le piccole zone mancanti di pittura. La differenza della decorazione complessiva appare evidente confrontando la nostra fotografia con la illustrazione che ne danno K. Atz, *Kunstgeschichte von Tirol und Voralberg* (Innsbruck, 1909), p. 344, e J. Garber, *Romanische Wandmalerei in Tirol* (Vienna; s.d.) Tav. I.

[2] Atz, *op. cit.*, p. 346, dice che "la barba spartita in due" è poco ormai riconoscibile. Dopo la pulitura è risultato invece che il Cristo non portava barba affatto.



6. Monte Maria di Burgusio. Affreschi della cripta



7. Monte Maria di Burgusio. Affreschi della cripta

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glio bianco, da cui sono scomparse le scritte. I piedi poggiano sopra una base rettangolare, inquadrata nella fascia di fondo: il quale accorgimento è usato anche per tutte le altre figure.

All'imo della mandorla presso la finestra, gli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo, patroni dell'altare, si ergono nelle loro tipiche figure. Pietro a sinistra, con barba e capelli grigi tonsi al sommo del capo, gli occhi sbarrati, la fronte a bozze, disegnato con schematica franchezza, tiene in una mano la chiave arcilunga, ed alza l'altra in atto di benedire. Veste una tunica rossa a righettine bianche, su cui è gettato un mantello azzurro drappeggiato ancora con reminiscenza romana.

La sua figura smilza, dal lungo collo e dalla testa grande in rapporto al corpo (contrariamente al Cristo nella mandorla) è assai caratteristica; come lo è, del resto, quella di S. Paolo, a lui di fronte. E' questi di carnagione oscura, ed ha barba e capelli bruni fondi quasi neri. Veste tunica azzurra e manto rosso, e nella sinistra regge un gran libro chiuso, sollevando, come il suo compagno, la destra in atto di benedizione. La sua espressione è di fissità attonita, raggiunta con grande semplicità di mezzi a cifra calligrafica.

Ai piedi dei santi e dei cherubini sono raffigurati i simboli degli Evangelisti e precisamente, da sinistra a destra: l'aquila, il leone (sotto a S. Pietro) il toro (sotto a S. Paolo) e l'angelo. Il fondo che inquadra Santi, angeli, cherubini e simboli è formato da fascie versicolori. Incominciando dal basso si ha il seguente ordine: zolla fiorita color bianco e rosso, zona bruna, bianca, bruno-rossa, verde, giallo ocra e il triangolo centrale azzurro.

La decorazione basamentale è andata completamente distrutta, ed anche i simboli degli evangelisti sono in parte scomparsi: così è appena riconoscibile l'aquila a sinistra, presso cui si sono per altro conservate alcune tracce di pittura, che ci servono ad indiziare l'esistenza d'un personaggio. Si scorge la metà superiore d'una testa d'uomo, colla tonsura, e l'estremità delle sue mani, congiunte a preghiera. La figura rappresentava probabilmente l'abate sotto la cui reggenza furono eseguite le pitture.

Nelle velette della crocera davanti l'abside appaiono tre angeli su fondo azzurro cosparso di bolle bianche. Uno d'essi regge un giglio stilizzato; quello di centro ha un gagliardetto bianco con lunghe fiamme. Negli spicchi ai piedi degli angeli e sulle coste della crocera v'è un ornamento andulato ad orlo bianco, assai gustoso e di bell'effetto decorativo.

Conviene anzitutto intenderci sul significato di codeste ornamentazioni. Che esse partano originariamente da forme imitative naturalistiche, non mi par dubbio. Ma certo è che a poco a poco hanno perduto il significato primitivo, per assurgere ad astrazioni decorative, spesso contradditorie proprio dal punto di vista del naturalismo. Le zone versicolori marcano le differenze del terreno, dalle zolle fiorite vicine sino ai prati lontani, all'azzurro del cielo.

Ma ecco che proprio lo sfondo, il quale dovrebbe imitare l'atmosfera celeste, assume nel centro colore diverso. Verde è infatti il fondo della mandorla, e pur verdi sono i triangoli dietro gli angeli della crocera. Le bolle bianche che forse rappresentavano originariamente le stelle si potrebbero agevolmente ritenere tali, se non si estendessero anche sulla zona oscura ai piedi degli angeli. Ma è possibile che le stelle risplendano sul terreno? L'ornamento ondeggiato che corre in giro alle coste della crocera e s'addensa negli spicchi a piedi delle due figure può ritenersi una cristallizzazione ormai fissa di nuvolette; una ormai è tanto ridotta a schema, ch'è difficile a intendere. E che cosa dire infine delle linee divisorie delle singole fascie, interrotte irregolarmente a semicerchi abbinati? Forse derivano da una stilizzazione di alberi spinta "usque ad absurdum," tanto d'avere smarrito ogni evidenza, e dal pittore stesso non più compresa. Stiamo anzi per credere che, data l'irrazionalità nell'uso delle varie forme decorative, queste abbiano perduto il significato originario, per risultare semplici mezzo di potenzialità e vivificazione pittorica. Più tardi, da codesti schemi decorativi, si apriranno le vie per un nuovo naturalismo: il gotico.

Notiamo in ciò un fatto già altra volta osservato, e mirabilmente analizzato dal Riegl nelle sue acutissime "Stilfragen." L'arte che, originariamente geometrica ed astratta, s'appressa alla natura e cerca in essa quelle forme le quali più s'adattano agli schemi fissati. E poi l'evoluzione inversa: l'arte che si distacca dalla natura per risolversi in astrazioni decorative, smarrendo il senso naturalistico. In tale stadio si trovano appunto le pitture di Monte Maria: frutto di un lento processo di "stilizzazione" durato da molti secoli. In esse però l'astrattismo non è più spinto agli estremi, anzi si incammina a conquistar forme plastiche evidenti, naturalezza d'imagini umane, espressioni vivaci; è sulla buona strada per giungere al naturalismo gotico che proromperà potente, anche quassù, tra poco più d'un secolo.

Ma quanto sono sature, queste pitture, di raffinatezza stilistica! Le masse equilibrate con giusta misura, inquadrate nell'ordito architettonico con distribuzione perfetta. Le forme cavate con poche luci dall'ombra, di una plasticità diffusa e moderata affinchè non accentuino i valori singoli a detrimento del complesso.

Le linee morbide, fluenti, accordate in ritmi dolci e sereni; senza ingorghi e grovigli od asprezze. I colori invece, vivaci, saturi, squillanti, con preferenze di armonie gialle. Tutto ciò assurge ad un significato estetico di grande potenza, cui va congiunto naturalmente il fatto interiore puramente psicologico, da cui nasce la forza suggestiva di questa pittura.

La sua struttura fissa, la ieraticità delle figure astratte da qualsiasi contingenza materiale, il convergere dei suoi ritmi verso un centro predominante; tutto ciò esercita un fascino ipnotico, che assorbe in sè l'animo dello spet-

8. Monte Maria di Burgusio. Dalmatica. Sec. XII

tatore. Lenti e gravi sono gli accordi che ne risultano, mistiche le voci che mormorano parole di fede e d'ascesi. Questo non è il regno dei cieli in cui si passa a cuor leggero: la sua porta si apre soltanto a chi si è prostato nella polvere del martirio, perdendo ogni contatto col mondo terreno. Certo, a farci comprendere lo spirito di questo tempo, val più uno squarcio di tale documento pittorico, che un lungo trattato di storia medievale.

Stabilita l'epoca e la storia dei nostri affreschi, conviene domandarci da quali fonti gli artisti ne trassero l'ispirazione, donde ne derivarono lo stile, e possibilmente chi furono essi.

L'Atz [1] ritiene che tra i primi monaci giunti da Ottobeuern debba essere ricercato il pittore, che fu probabilmente un Benedettino. La tesi ha la sua parte di verità: non tanto perchè il pittore debba necessariamente esser stato uno tra i primi monaci, quanto perchè lo stile dei nostri affreschi possiede strette analogie cogli affreschi romanici dei Benedettini.

Basterà, al proposito, esaminare gli affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis o quelli di Santa Maria in Foroclaudio per convincersi di ciò. Ritroviamo quà e là lo stesso stile lineare fluente, di essenza bizantina; lo stesso modellato dei volti, con ombre e lumeggiature riportate; lo stesso senso spaziale nel ritmo della composizione. A Monte Maria peraltro il tutto più morbido e cadenzato, in una parola, più occidentale: anche perchè più avanzato di tempo. Ma ad onta dei leggeri divari tra Formis e Monte Maria, noi non dubitiamo che una sola sia la fonte primigenia che unisce i due luoghi, pur cosi distanti tra loro: la tradizione dell'arte benedettina, ravvivata da apporti bizantini. E quanto forti fossero codesti apporti, basti ricordare che l'Abate Desiderio, ricostruendo il monastero di Montecassino, si rivolse a Costantinopoli per ottenere i maestri del musaico e della decorazione.

L'espansione della pittura benedettina si esercitò su vasta scala nei secoli XI e XII, colla stessa fioritura dell'ordine, che creava centri di coltura dal Tirreno sin nel cuore dell'Europa centrale. Fu così che si stabilirono scambi tra paesi lontani, ferma restando una certa unità nell'indirizzo artistico dell'ordine; e fu così che dai monasteri della Campania l'arte si diffuse rapidamente sino ai lontani paesi del Nord.

Nulla ci vieta quindi a ritenere che i pittori di Monte Maria furono quegli stessi monaci che vi giunsero da Ottobeuern, convento benedettino, quando noi abbiamo riscontrato nei nostri affreschi i caratteri di essa pittura.

Posto all'estremo limite tra Italia e Germania, l'artista di Montemaria sembra aver tuttavia assorbito anche qualche elemento residuo dell'arte ottoniana, specialmente derivata dalla miniatura, e d'averne inquinato lo stile in maniera appena percettibile. Certo si è che i flussi della pittura romanica

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 350.

furono così vasti e così diffusi, che i caratteri locali ebbero più spesso a smarrirsi nelle ondate dell'arte incalzante, anzicchè a conservarsi nell'isolamento.

E ne sia prova la analogia, insospettata a tutta prima, tra questa nostra pittura romanica tridentina con altre scuole lontane.

Senza dire che i rapporti delle scuole pittoriche di Bressanone e della Val Venosta furono fervidi tanto con Salisburgo, quanto con Venezia e con la Lombardia, ai quali paesi esse erano legate dai interessi politici ed economici, risulta il fatto che riscontriamo in esse affinità di stile e d'iconografia sin con distanti paesi della Spagna e della Francia meridionale. Massima nella pittura romanica catalana (San Miguel de Angulasters; San Miguel de La Seo)[1] appaiono chiari accenni a comuni origini o comuni rapporti con le fonti che diedero vita ed alimento all'arte romanica dell'Alto Adige.

Ma quali furono esse di preciso? Per l'architettura e la scultura, sua figlia diretta, A. Kingsley Porter ha già fornito la prova dell'origine lombarda; di cui del resto non è difficile a convincersi dopo una sola occhiata ad edifici come San Clemente o Santa María in Tahull, San Juan de Bohí, San Pedro de Campodrón e via dicendo, che paion nascere direttamente da suolo lombardo. Più complessa è invece la questione della pittura. Noi abbiamo parlato d'analogie e di somiglianze tra pittura catalana e tridentina, non d'identità. Vogliamo dire che, pur presentandosi le due scuole pittoriche, alle quali limitiamo oggi il nostro fugace esame, con notevole somiglianza, tuttavia permangono alcune diversità di carattere e figurale e stilistico, che le assegnano inconfondibilmente a mani ed a spiriti diversi. A noi sembra quindi che il nucleo del problema sia da ricercarsi nel fatto che, tanto la pittura catalana, quanto quella alto — atesina possiedano lontane e vicine radici nella comune arte lombarda. Per Monte Maria, ciò non è difficile supporre, vista la stessa origine lombarda del fondatore del convento, Ulrico di Traspes: o lombardi o educati alla scuola lombarda furono con ogni probabilità i pittori che affrescarono quell'abside. Per la Catalogna e la Francia meridionale, è ovvio che gli architetti e gli scultori lombardi escercitassero o direttamente o indirettamente un forte influsso su quelle scuole pittoriche regionali: onde dalla comune fonte lombarda ne derivarono le analogie.

A sostegno di questa tesi, la quale del resto esorbita dagli stretti limiti della nostra trattazione, si può addurre il pianeta ricamato probabilmente dalla moglie di Ulrico di Traspes, Uta, che tuttora si conserva nel convento di Montemaria, e che noi riproduciamo oggi al solo scopo di sollevare, non esaurire, un problema che dovrà esser trattato più profondamente in altra sede, recando, vogliamo augurarci, maggior luce sui rapporti e gli scambi di quell'arte romanica che fu una tra le più potenti creazioni del genio medievale.

[1] Debbo alla cortesia dell'illustre Prof. A. Kingsley Porter codesti più precisi accenni alla pittura catalana, che io avevo soltanto intravvisti.

DIE TYMPANA VON LA CHARITÉ SUR LOIRE

1. La Charité-sur-Loire. Christus. Ausschnitt aus 2

2. La Charité-sur-Loire. Verklärung. Anbetung der Könige, Darstellung im Tempel

3. Mauriac. Christus, Ausschnitt aus dem Westportaltympanon. (Nach Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Ill. 1246)

DIE TYMPANA VON LA CHARITÉ SUR LOIRE

Von HERMANN BEENKEN

Die Fragen nach der Genesis des monumentalen Stils in der nordfranzösischen Skulptur, wie er uns jugendlich-archaisch und klassisch-vollendet zugleich an der Westfassade der Kathedrale von Chartres entgegentritt, wollen nicht zur Ruhe kommen. Schon die Datierung dieses wichtigen Denkmals selbst, durch welches das Saeculum der grossen französischen Kathedralfassaden mit Dreiportalanlagen eingeleitet wird, schwankt immer noch um eine ganze Reihe von Jahrzehnten. Nun wäre die Frage nach der absoluten Chronologie nicht einmal so wichtig, wenn wenigstens die relative, das Bild der Entwicklung der französischen Skulptur des 12. Jahrhunderts im ganzen feststände, wenn wir wüssten, was alles gleichzeitig jeweilig da war und aufwuchs und wie von Generation zu Generation sich der Stilwandel vollzogen haben muss. Professor Porter hat den grossartigen Versuch unternommen, alle diese Fragen in einem umfassenden Zusammenhange zu klären. Er sah, dass die Forschung am Einzelobjekt immer nur bis zu einem gewissen Punkte gelangt, und dass es, um weiterzukommen, erforderlich ist, ein Bild des Ganzen zu gewinnen, in dem das Einzelne einen bestimmten Platz dadurch bekommt, dass alle seine Beziehungen und Verknüpfungen mit anderen Denkmälergruppen und die dieser wieder mit dritten klargestellt werden. Und so hat er uns seine prachtvolle Publikation geschenkt, in der uns zum ersten Male ein Gesamtüberblick über das weitaus Meiste der romanischen Plastik Europas möglich geworden ist.

Wir anderen, denen diese Gabe zuteil wurde, würden gewiss nicht in seinem Sinne handeln, wenn wir die Weiterarbeit nunmehr einstellten und meinten, dass jetzt alles getan sei. Im Gegenteil, nun erst, mit dem neu gewonnenen Blicke aufs Ganze gilt es, die Einzelfragen wieder aufzunehmen und zu untersuchen, wie sich nun hier und dort die Entwicklung vollzogen, uns ein Bild davon zu machen, wie sich ein Stil vom anderen, ein Meister vom anderen abgelöst hat und wie sie von sich aus sich weiterbildend und vielleicht unter neu gewonnenen Anregungen und hinzutretenden Einflüssen dann zu ganz neuen Ergebnissen kamen. Auch die gemeinsame Richtung aller dieser einzelnen Entwicklungsverläufe gilt es zu sehen, das logische Sichfolgen der Stilphasen im grossen. Das letzte Ziel sei uns eine grosse Geschichte des europäischen Sehens, der europäischen Formgestaltung und Geistesentwicklung durch die Jahrhunderte. Aber, um dahin zu gelangen, müssen wir mit lauter Kleinarbeit anfangen.

So sei es gestattet, dass wir uns dem Problem: Chartres, das schon im ersten Jahrgange dieser Blätter durch Mr. Priest erörtert worden ist, einmal von der Peripherie her zu nähern versuchen, indem wir uns mit einer Skulpturengruppe ausführlicher beschäftigen, deren Zusammenhang mit dem Portail Royal längst schon gesehen wurde. Wir glauben über die Art dieses Zusammenhanges anders denken zu müssen, als es Professor Porter getan hat, und wir haben auch über die zeitlische Ansetzung der Chartreser Portale eine andere Meinung wie er und wie Mr. Priest. Diesen abweichenden Standpunkt zu dem Gesamtproblem so umfassend zu begründen, wie es nötig wäre, ist an dieser Stelle leider nicht möglich, die letzte Quelle der Meinungsverschiedenheit beruht überhaupt in einem Unterschiede der wissenschaftlichen Methode. Wir beschränken uns auf die Erörterung eines Teilproblemes und versuchen, hier unsere Meinung in sorgfältiger Analyse der Denkmäler zu begründen. Nur von dem Verhältnis von La Charité zu Chartres soll hier die Rede sein, von der relativen Chronologie; über die absolute der Jahreszahlen müssen wir uns mit Andeutungen begnügen, da eine wirkliche Fixierung nur im Rahmen einer sehr weitausgreifenden Abhandlung möglich erscheint.

Von den fünf skulpierten Bogenfeldern, die die einstige Fassade von Ste.-Croix Notre-Dame in La Charité-sur-Loire geschmückt haben müssen, haben sich mit dem einen noch stehenden Nordturme nur zwei noch erhalten. An Ort und Stelle überhaupt nur ein einziges, dessen obere ungewöhnliche Darstellung wohl als die Zuführung eines Monchsheiligen durch Maria vor den Thron des seitlich gewendeten Christus zu deuten ist, während sich unten Verkündigung, Heimsuchung, Geburt und Hirtenverkündigung finden.[1] Das zweite Tympanon ist ins Innere der Kirche übertragen, es enthält die Transfiguration oben, die Anbetung der Könige und die Darstellung im Tempel im unteren Streifen.

Wir beginnen mit der Betrachtung dieses zweiten Tympanons, das sich heute in einer Wand des südlichen Querschiffes in einer für die genaue Betrachtung sehr günstigen Höhe eingemauert befindet. Kompositionell ist beachtenswert wie die obere Darstellung sich gleichsam konzentrisch um einen etwa in halber Höhe der mittleren Gestalt Christi befindlichen Punkt zusammenschliesst. Nicht gegen die Bodenlinie wie in dem unteren Streifen, sondern gegen diese ideelle Mitte gravitieren die Nebenfiguren. Die Gestalten der Propheten Elias und Moses schwingen an den Bogenrändern der den Christus tragenden Mandorla entlang. Die Anpassung an diese gekrümmten Linien zwingt diese Figuren in eine gewaltsame Biegung, so dass ihnen ein freie körperliche Haltung und die Möglichkeit, sich von eigener Körperachse aus nach allen Seiten rund und frei zu entwickeln, völlig genommen ist. Und

[1] Veröffentlich durch Louise Lefrançois-Pillion in *Les Beaux Arts*, 1924, S. 212.

ebenso werden auch die in die Ecken geduckten Gestalten der assistierenden Apostel von jenem magnetischen Zentralpunkt in der Hauptgestalt her gleichsam in der Schwebe gehalten. Nicht der Erdboden trägt sie, sondern unsichtbare Kräfte von dorther. Am grossen Bogenrande entlang, wachsen sie auf, rechts einer hinter und über dem anderen.

Sieht man, wie es dieses Gravitieren gegen eine Mitte hin ist, was die Haltung der Gestalten im grossen bestimmt, so versteht man ebenfalls, warum nun auch das Fallen des Gewandes so wenig „natürlich," der natürlichen Schwere so wenig gemäss ist. Warum kreisen über der Brust Christi die Stoffschichten in nach oben schwingenden Bögen, statt „natürlich" zu fallen? Warum löst die Hülle sich hier so wenig vom Körper, während sie unmittelbar anschliessend am Ärmel gleich kräftig gelockert ist und schon vom Ellenbogen an frei zur Seite flattert? Und was für ein Flattern hier: in der Gliederung der Stoffmasse zunächst ein paar der Armbeugung ganz parallel kreisende Bogenlinien, dann sie überschneidend in ganz anderer Richtung verlaufend sich auftreppende Schichten? Oder warum zur linken Seite des Körpers ein Flattern des Mantels nach links, zur rechten dagegen nach rechts? Warum ein Flattern auswärts statt frei und in gelockerten Senkrechten abwärts? Man begreift alles das nur, wenn man sieht, wie bestimmend und kraftausstrahlend die Mitte hier ist, wie der göttliche Körper des Herrn gleichsam ein der Erdschwere entgegenwirkendes Schwere- und Strahlungszentrum in sich selber besitzt, um das die Formen bald in Kurven feste Bahnen ziehen, bald zentrifugal strahlen. Auch die übrigen Gestalten sind, obschon im grossen auf die Mittelfigur bezogen, im einzelnen ähnlich gebaut. Aufwärtsgehende Bogenbahnen über der Brust und abwärtsgehende über den Schenkeln — hier zum Teil von links und rechts her in einander gesteckte — auch dort! An den flatternden Gewandenden steigen die Säume in eigentümlich parallel entwickelten Treppen. Beachtliche Einzelheiten sind das Abschnüren der Bauchpartie durch vorstehende Grate nach oben und unten und das schneckenförmige Sichzusammenwinden unscharf gezeichneter Fältchen gegen den Nabel hin.

In den Szenen des unteren Streifens bestimmt nun eine uns natürlicher dünkende Ordnung den Verlauf der Formen. So eilig die Bewegung und so einseitig schon vom Ziel dieser Bewegung nach vorne herübergezogen die Haltung der Könige ist, so breit und fest scheinen doch ihre Füsse am Boden zu haften. Auch die Propheten des Bogenfeldes berühren den Boden, aber sie sind nicht von ihm getragen. Hier unten dagegen ist die Erdfläche notwendige Basis jeder Bewegung, die möglich ist. Und wie fest thront die Gestalt der Madonna, wie sicher stehen vor allem die beiden mittleren Figuren zuseiten des Trennungsstreifens zwischen den beiden Darstellungen! Gewiss wird auch hier noch die Haltung einiger Figuren von durch sie hindurch

gehenden Kurven bestimmt, aber diese Kurven vermögen kaum mehr wie oben die natürliche Schwere der Formen zu mindern. Diese Schwere wird auch schon durch die Proportionen bestimmt. Statt der schmalen Körper des Rundfeldes sind hier mehr kurz untersetzte gegeben.

Und der Gewandfall? Er ist, das sei gleich vorausgeschickt, in seinem Charakter nicht einheitlich. Sehen wir uns aber die ruhigen Standfiguren neben dem Trennungsstreifen an, so ist auch hier der Gegensatz zu den Formationen des Bogenfeldes der grösste. Jetzt ist die Schwerkraft der Erde bestimmend und das natürliche Sichspannen und Sichlockern der Hülle neben dem Körper. Man verfolge den Umriss an der linken Körperseite der Frau! Der Stoff staut sich in flachen Schichten über dem Oberarm, dann stürzt er vom Unterarm abwärts: leise zieht sich unter dem linken Ellenbogen der Umriss zunächst gegen den Körper zurück; aber eine andere gelockerte Falte tritt dann von innen her vor und schwingt, da der Stoff sich auch hier staut, wieder leise nach aussen. Das ist feines und differenziertes Gefühl für die natürlichen Entfaltungsmöglichkeiten einer Gewandhülle. An anderen Stellen verlaufen die Gewandfalten enger in leisen Schrägen, die noch von der Bewegung des Körpers dahinter bestimmt sind. Es ist noch keine völlig befreite und in sich selber dicht gewordene Faltenhülle wie in Werken des 13. Jahrhunderts; aber es ist ein Ansatz dazu.

Zu welchen Schlüssen berechtigt die hier gegebene Analyse der oben und unten so verschiedenartigen Stiltendenzen? Erklärt sich der Gegensatz allein durch die Unterschiede der Aufgabe: ein überirdischer Vorgang im Bogenfelde, irdische Szenen in den rechteckig umgrenzten unteren Flächen? Wir glauben das nicht, so sicher auch die Verknüpfung von Stil, Flächenform und Inhalt der Darstellung in beiden Fällen so glücklich ist, dass sie fast notwendig zu sein scheint. Kann man sich vorstellen, was geworden wäre, wenn die unteren Szenen im Stil des runden Feldes und die obere in dem des Streifens zur Darstellung gelangt wäre? Eine solche Vertauschung will sinnwidrig scheinen, und doch genügt die Erklärung von der Flächenform oder die von der Aufgabe her auf keinen Fall, um die stilistischen Verschiedenheiten bis in die Details hinab verständlich zu machen. Und so darf man den Schluss ziehen, dass hier zwei verschiedene Meister und zwar solche von ganz verschiedener Schulung am Werke gewesen sind.

Dürfen wir weiter gehen und sagen, dass der uns „natürlicher" dünkende Stil des unteren Feldes der spätere ist und den Schluss ziehen, dass dieses später entstanden ist? Wer romanische Plastik kennt, weiss dass solche Schlüsse unmöglich, dass der Grad scheinbarer Naturähnlichkeit nur in seltenen Fällen ein Kriterium für die zeitliche Entstehungsfolge ist. Wie sehr man zwar die eine Stiltendenz im Sinne der kommenden gotischen Plastik als die innerlich modernere bezeichnen kann und die andere mit ihren ornamentalen

4. La Charité-sur-Loire. Maria. Ausschnitt aus 2

5. Chartres. Kathedrale. Tympanon des rechten Seitenportals der Westfassade

6. Chartres. Kathedrale. Maria im Wochenbett. Ausschnitt aus 5

und nicht mit dem natürlich Gegebenen rechnenden Gesetzmässigkeiten als die altertümlichere, dem Frühmittelalter verwandtere, so sehr ist tatsächlich doch immer wieder zu sehen, dass lange Zeit beide Tendenzen nebeneinander und sehr häufig gerade wie hier in unmittelbarer räumlicher Nachbarschaft am Werke gewesen. Verfolgt man sie aber zu ihren Wurzeln zurück, so wird häufig als die äussere Ursache solcher Verschiedenheiten ein landschaftliches Auseinanderliegen der stilistischen Ursprünge erscheinen.

Auch in La Charité ist dies der Fall. Professor Porter hat bereits auf gewisse Verbindungen mit der Plastik des französischen Südwestens aufmerksam gemacht. Von den engen Beziehungen zu dem Fries an der Fassade der Kirche des Kleinen Seminars in Montmorillon sei hier vorerst zwar nicht die Rede, da diese Skulpturen stilistisch im Westen sehr isoliert stehen. Aber dass, worauf Professor Porter hinwies,[1] der Bart des rechten Propheten auf der Transfiguration von La Charité mit seinen lang fliessenden und gewellten Zotten an den des herrlichen Jesaias in Souillac erinnert, ist wichtig und weist auf eine richtige Spur. Nicht weit von Souillac liegt Carennac und dem Meister des dortigen Tympanons hat Professor Porter auch das in Mauriac zugeschrieben. Auch mit dieser Gruppe von Werken zeigt die Transfiguration von La Charité manche Verwandtschaft. Das Überkreisen der Brustflächen mit Bogenschwüngen, das Abschnüren der Rundungen von Brust und von Knie nach unten zu findet sich dort ebenso wie das lockere Flattern der Mäntel und die dabei entstehenden Treppen der Saumlinien. Aber der Meister von Carennac–Mauriac hat eine schwerere Plastizität, er liebt die heftig stossenden Rundungen und gelegentlich ein wulstiges Sichbündeln der Falten, wo der La Charité–Meister sich vor allem durch einen schönen zeichnenden Stil glatt fliessender Linien kenntlich macht. Es sind Verwandtschaften da; aber das Temperament ist ein anderes. Das der persönlichen Art des Meisters der Transfiguration Verwandteste ist vielleicht die Gestalt des St. Antonin in dem gleichnamigen Orte, östlich von Toulouse an der Galerie des Rathauses. Sie ist stilistisch wesentlich altertümlicher, zeigt einen weit geringeren Reichtum an Faltenwerk. Aber von den auch hier vorhandenen Übereinstimmungen der Bogenfalten, der Abschnürung des Bauches und der Bartzotten abgesehen, ist die plastische Gesinnung so ähnlich, dass fast die Hypothese nicht zu gewagt erscheint, der St. Antonin-Meister habe in späterem Alter, vielleicht viele Jahrzehnte nach seiner Tätigkeit dort im Süden das La Charité-Relief selber geschaffen. Jedoch, wie dem auch sei, der Schöpfer der Transfiguration ist auf alle Fälle aus den Schulen des Südwestens gekommen.

Der Meister der Anbetung und der Darstellung ist dagegen mit Chartres verknüpft. Die Beziehung von La Charité und Chartres ist schon lange

[1] A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, S. 127.

gesehen; aber die Frage ist, wie man sie sich denken soll. Professor Porter ist der Meinung, dass die Arbeiten in La Charité vor Chartres entstanden. Wir bedauern, ihm hier widersprechen zu müssen. Da die Verknüpfung der Mariendarstellungen am rechten Nebenportale dort mit denen in La Charité nun eine ganz ungemein enge, ist eine Klärung der Frage, was früher, was später, für die Erkenntnis des Entwicklungsverlaufes nicht ohne Bedeutung. Wenn irgendwo, so muss bei so grossen Ähnlichkeiten hervortreten, was sich verändert, die Entwicklungsrichtung muss deutlich werden.

Die grössten formalen und ikonographischen Ähnlichkeiten bestehen zwischen dem anderen noch aussen am Turm befindlichen Tympanon von La Charité, und zwar auch hier dem unteren Streifen, und dem unteren Bogenfeldstreifen des rechten Seitenportales von Chartres. Den Vergleich zwischen diesen Reliefs stellen wir aber vorerst noch zurück, da, wie zu zeigen sein wird, der Stil der Marienreliefs auf dem einen Tympanon in La Charité mit dem des anderen nicht ohne weiteres zu identifizieren ist. Wir ziehen es vor, wiederum von der kopflosen Figur des Innentympanons auszugehen und nehmen in Kauf, dass wir hier ikonographisch einander nicht Entsprechendes vergleichen müssen, da eine Heilige mit einem Buche auf der vielfigurigen Darstellung im Tempel im Mittelstreifen des Chartreser Tympanons fehlt.

Eine so lockere und differenzierte Gewandüberhüllung wie die dieser Figur in La Charité ist in Chartres nirgends vorhanden. Das Entscheidende ist, wie viel an Hohlräumen in dieser Figur schon entwickelt ist, vor allem in den frei sich lösenden Falten des Mantels. Schon das Untergewand ist weitgehend über dem Körper gelockert, man glaubt, es hochnehmen zu können, und unter einer Faltenöffnung wird der plastisch umformte Luftraum zwischen den Füssen sehr spürbar. Aber alles das ist nun wieder noch von der Hülle des Mantels umschlossen, wobei neue Lockerungen, neue Hohlräume entstehen. Das Gewand fällt so frei, dass es stellenweise, man könnte fast sagen, wie eine den Kern der Figur einhüllende Nischenschale erscheint, und man sieht, der Mantel ist eben deshalb so weit um den Körper genommen, damit sein freies von dem des Untergewandes ganz gelöstes Fallen um so fühlbarer in Erscheinung tritt. Da wo in der Mitte der Figur zwischen den über die Arme gezogenen Enden Gürtung und Untergewand eigens sichtbar gemacht sind, ist die Tiefe des plastisch umschlossenen Hohlraumes geradezu messbar. Das 13. Jahrhundert ist auf dem Wege solcher Lockerungen natürlich sehr viel weiter gegangen. Aber sein Stil keimt hier bereits.

Und er keimt auch in Chartres. Noch aber ist die Blüte der Figur nicht so aufgeschlossen, noch haften die Teile, die in La Charité bereits so gelöst sind, enge am inneren Kern. In Chartres ist die Knospe fast noch geschlossen, in La Charité ist ihr leises Sichöffnen und ein erstes Sichlösen der Blätter von einander erkennbar. Bei den Frauengestalten der Chartreser Visitation und

der Verkündigung sind die Mantelflächen noch fest gewalzt. Plan liegen sie an. Die plastisch umgrenzten Höhlungen hier und da sind noch enge und schmal. Mäntel wollen um die Figur sich nicht runden, sie haften noch an ihren seitlichen Rändern oder am Reliefgrund, und wenn der Arm ein Gewandende mitnimmt fällt es enge und starr. In der rechten Hälfte der Chartreser Darstellung im Tempel findet sich zwar eine Frauenfigur, die den Mantel völlig um sich herumzieht, und eine etwas weitere Öffnung entsteht in der Tat. Wie wenig ist aber dieses tatsächliche Sichlockern künstlerisch genossen, wie fallen die Gewandmassen in starren Parallelfalten noch! Ganz anders wirkt das entsprechende Verhüllungsmotiv bei dem mittleren König der Anbetung von La Charité. So dicht und locker zugleich bündeln die Falten sich hier, dass gelegentlich eine obere gar über eine untere fällt. In die hier entstehende Höhlung glaubt man leicht bis oben hinauftasten zu können.

Durch die Analogie des Sichöffnens der Blüte haben wir deutlich zu machen versucht, wie wir die Entwicklung uns denken. Wir glauben nicht, dass ein umgekehrter Verlauf vorstellbar ist. Gewiss ist es denkbar, dass ein vorangegangener Stil äusserlich einem späteren, dass das Gestern in irgend einer Hinsicht über das Heute hinweg dem Morgen ähnelt. Man könnte etwa leicht neben die Figur von La Charité eine der drei Frauen am Grabe von den, wie wir meinen, im zweiten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Gustorfer Chorschranken [1] stellen. Auch da ist vieles gelockert, und diesen älteren Stil mit der späteren Stufe verwechselnd, hat Professor Hamann [2] nun auch tatsächlich die Skulpturen jener niederrheinischen Dorfkirche von den Chartreser Reliefs abhängig sein lassen wollen. Er sah nicht, dass die Gustorfer Lockerung die in Chartres erreichte Stufe einer Konsolidierung der plastischen Form noch gar nicht voraussetzt, dass es sich nicht um eine Lockerung infolge neu gewonnener Sicherheit plastischer Hohlraumumformung, sondern um eine Lockerung infolge plastischer Unsicherheit handelt. Die Falten sind nicht geformt, sondern gedunsen, auch die weiten Ärmel schwellen fast noch wie bei gewissen Figuren des 11. Jahrhunderts träge ins Breite. Die Oberkörper jener Gustorfer Frauen und auch die oberen Teile der Ärmel sind noch völlig ungegliederte Masse, und was weiter unten als reichere Zeichnung und als gelöste Falte erscheint, hat nun wirklich kein Eigendasein und Eigenrecht gegenüber dem Körper, dessen Wölbung dann auch faltenverdrängend am Standbeine durchwächst. Lösung der Formen auf Grund letzter Rechenschaft über die plastischen Lösungsmöglichkeiten und restloser Durchformung alles Sichlösenden, ist etwas anderes, als ein

[1] Vgl. *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. I, 1923, S. 131 ff.; und Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland*, 1924, S. 81 ff.

[2] In *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. I, 1924, S. 18 ff.

Sichlösen auf Grund von innerer Unklarheit über das plastisch Mögliche infolge eines Mangels an wirklicher plastischer Festigkeit überhaupt. So stehen Gustorf und La Charité der Stufe Chartres gegenüber in einem völlig verschiedenen Verhältnis. Das eine ist entwicklungsgeschichtlich früher, das andere später.

Vor allem aber sind die Ähnlichkeiten zwischen Gustorf und Chartres oder Gustorf und La Charité nur recht zufällige. Verbindung besteht überhaupt nicht. Die Gustorfer Schrankenskulpturen stehen für uns am Anfange einer autochthon rheinischen Entwicklung, die bis gegen 1200 hin ziemlich unabhängig von westlichen Einflüssen abläuft. Zwischen Chartres und La Charité ist dagegen die Verwandtschaft so eng, dass man sagen möchte, in La Charité habe sich gleichsam die Knospe Chartres selber geöffnet. Es ist wirklich derselbe Stil auf einer reiferen Entwicklungsstufe, der uns in diesem mittelfranzösischen Denkmal begegnet.

Merkwürdig, wie bei allem Fortschrittlichen, das La Charité von Chartres so sehr unterscheidet, die persönliche Gesinnung eigentümlich verwandt ist. Die Erzählung ist an beiden Orten gleich unbeweglich und leidenschaftslos, unbeweglich und verhalten im Ausdruck des Mimischen auch dann, wenn, wie gelegentlich in La Charité die Bewegung einzelner Körper heftig und eilig scheint. Es ist dann gewissermassen eine Eile, an der der Geist keinen Anteil nimmt. Im Grunde ist es eine nüchterne und temperamentlose Kunst, die ihre Vorzüge nur in einer sauberen und etwas pedantischen Klarheit sucht. Man fasse diese glatten, aber wohlgerundeten und reinlich durchzeichneten Köpfe ins Auge, oder man nehme die Proportion der so sauber nebeneinander aufgefädelten Figuren, eine untersetzte und dennoch nicht breite Proportion, die das Gefäss eines im Grunde engen und zu höherem Aufschwunge unfähigen Geistes zu sein scheint!

Man vergleiche dann Einzelnes! Ist es nicht dieselbe Maria, die in Chartres im Wochenbett liegt und die dann in La Charité thronend ihren Kleinen den heraneilenden drei Königen entgegensegnen lässt? Der Schnitt der Haare, die Umzeichnung der Augen, die gehackte Gewandbildung des Oberarmes, die geriefelte des Unterarmes, die starre Hand, ist nicht alles identisch? Und die Freude an reich durchbrochener, aber in sauberen und planen Rechteckformen zusammengehaltener Tischlerarbeit, hier am Thron, dort am Bett, verrät nicht auch das die gleiche Gesinnung? Wir sehen auch Unterschiede im Kostümlichen, in gewissen Faltengruppierungen, in der Bildung der Bärte vor allem, Unterschiede also jenseits aller formalen Entwicklung, wie wir sie dargestellt. Wir stehen aber nicht an, sie zurückzustellen und zu sagen, dass die Meister der unteren Tympanonstreifen des rechten Chartreser Portals und des inneren Türsturzes in La Charité eine und dieselbe Person gewesen sein müssen.

7. La Charité-sur-Loire. Verkündigung.
Ausschnitt aus 10

8. Chartres. Verkündigung. Heimsuchung. Ausschnitt aus 5

Denn jene Unterschiede im festen Formenschatz, mit dem dieser Meister hier und dort hantiert, erklären sich durch Seitenblicke auf Künstler, mit denen er zusammenzuarbeiten hatte, in Chartres auf den Hauptmeister, der die meisten der grossen Statuen und das Mitteltympanon schuf, in La Charité auf den Meister der Transfiguration. Aber dieses Zurseiteblicken in Chartres hat eine andere Bedeutung wie das in La Charité, denn hier hatte dieser Künstler es mit einem, wie wir sahen, gesinnungsmässig völlig verschiedenen Mitarbeiter zu tun, dort mit einem, in dessen Bahnen er selber wohl von allem Anfange an schon geschritten. Von seinem Genossen in La Charité übernimmt er etwa irgend ein ornamentales Flattern des Gewandes, die Faltenglocke am Mantelende des Kindes zum Beispiel vom Untergewandsaum des Christus darüber. Oder auch die grossformig-härtere, gleichsam metallische Prägung der Locken von Haar und von Bart. Das sind Einzelheiten in der Bildung der Oberflächen von recht geringfügiger Bedeutung, und wir halten es auch sehr wohl für möglich, dass ähnlich im Detail auch der Meister der Transfiguration durch Eigenheiten seines Genossen seinen Stil verfärbt haben mag. Die Einheit der Aufgabe bedingte wechselseitige Anpassung und der ganze Schliff der Formen wurde schliesslich verwandt. Möglich auch, dass die gegenüber Chartres so gesteigerte Bewegtheit der unteren Darstellungen, eine nur äussere Bewegtheit, wie wir hervorhoben, ebenfalls durch den Wunsch nach Angleichung an den oberen Meister bedingt ist, mit dessen Komposition sich die stille der Chartreser Szenen wohl wenig vertragen hätte. Dass der obere Meister in der Tat einen bestimmenden Einfluss besass, beweist auch die ganz unchartresische Ornamentierung der rahmenden Formen. Den unteren Saum des Bogenfeldes bildet etwa der Perspektivmäander von Moissac, Carennac und anderen Denkmälern des Südens.

Wenn in dem Chartreser Marienstreifen dagegen mit den grossen Statuen des Hauptmeisters derartige Ähnlichkeiten vorhanden sind, dass etwa Wilhelm Voege [1] es noch kaum für nötig hielt, unseren Meister als eine besondere Persönlichkeit aus der Schule jenes Grösseren abzusondern — erst Mr. Alan Priest hat diese Abtrennung vorgenommen — so ergibt sich schon daraus, dass dort der Einfluss des leitenden Meisters auf seinen Genossen ein völlig anderer und ein ungleich stärkerer gewesen sein muss. Von La Charité kommend, wird man zwar auch hier zunächst nur von Verfärbungen reden. Und um nichts Anderes könnte es sich ja auch handeln, wenn Chartres, wie Professor Porter annahm, das Spätere wäre. Man würde auf die weiten und plattgewalzten äusseren Ärmelstreifen der Frauen, die detailierten Saumornamente der Mäntel, die in kleine Einzellöckchen auslaufende Bartform des Joseph und anderes verweisen können, was alles in La Charité fehlt, jedoch

[1] Wilhelm Voege, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter*, 1894, S. 147.

bei dem Chartreser Hauptmeister vorkommt. Aber über dies Einzelne, an dem anderen Orte nicht Vorhandene hinweg ist hier in Chartres die formale Verwandtschaft so innig, so bis ins letzte den Formencharakter der Figuren bestimmend, dass gefragt werden muss, wie sie zu deuten ist.

Und durchläuft man nun mit raschem Blicke die etwas monotone Figurenreihe der meist isoliert nebeneinandergereihten Figuren der Chartreser Reliefs, so hat man schon den bestimmenden Eindruck, dass es sich hier — und auch das im Gegensatze zu La Charité — um nichts als um in den Reliefstreifen hinein verkleinerte Monumentalstatuen handelt. Man denke an die dicht und verschränkt gefüllten Reliefs des französischen Südens oder Burgunds, jene sicheren Werke der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts, man denke an die dort so völlig anderen Begriffe von Bild und Relieferhöhung überhaupt, und man wird erkennen, dass das Vorbild und der künstlerische Ausgangspunkt dieser monotonen Reihungen vollrunder Figuren vor einer Fläche die Einzelstatue an der Säule, also das Werk des Chartreser Hauptmeisters gewesen sein muss. Die Einzelstatue, die sich in der vorangegangenen Entwicklung selber erst aus reliefhaften, bildmässigen Bindungen befreit, plastisch isoliert und gefestigt hatte, sie steigt hier in Chartres gleichsam wieder in das Relief zurück und überträgt auf dieses ihren neuen Begriff von Monumentalität.

Es ist sehr merkwürdig wie sich in Chartres die Darstellungen erzählenden Inhaltes, soweit man sie nicht in die Kapitellzone verbannte, dieser neuen Forderung nach Monumentalität haben angleichen müssen. Die Mittelachse des Bogenfeldes ist es, um die die Chartreser Marienszenen sich ordnen. Nach der Versetzung der Portale sind störende Verschiebungen eingetreten, aber das ursprünglich beabsichtigte Bild ist noch leicht rekonstruierbar. Unter der thronenden Madonna der Altar der Darstellung im Tempel und die Breitform des Bettes Marie durch die die mehrfigurigen Szenen: Verkündigung, Heimsuchung und Hirtenverkündigung symmetrisch nach den Seiten abgedrängt werden. Und der Wille zur monumentalen Komposition ist es, dem man auch die ikonographisch notwendige Szene der Anbetung der Könige geopfert hat. Platz wäre gewesen im mittleren Streifen. Aber lieber zog man dort die Szene der Darstellung durch Hinzufügung überflüssiger Statisten bis ins Sinnlose aus, als dass man durch eine Zweiteilung: Anbetung und Darstellung, wie sie in La Charité dann gegeben, die Möglichkeit preisgegeben hätte, um eine dominierende Mitte zu gruppieren.

Wir glauben, dass für diese Strenge der Komposition der Wille des leitenden Hauptmeisters ausschlaggebend gewesen sein muss. Schülerhände haben nach seinem Entwurfe die Marienszenen des Nebenportales gearbeitet. Der untere Streifen ist von einer feineren Hand als der mittlere (dessen Figur zur äussersten linken nachträglich von dem führenden Meister der Archivolten

ergänzt worden ist). Die Proportionen sind edler, die Gebärden differenzierter, etwa das Sichneigen der Köpfe, der Blicke. Und der Schöpfer dieser unteren Szenen scheint uns, wie gesagt, der Meister der Anbetung und der Darstellung von La Charité. Aber war er wirklich einfach ein Schüler des Hauptmeisters von Chartres? Mr. Priest hat gerade diesen Künstler mit dem Schöpfer gewisser Reliefs in St.-Gilles identifiziert. Professor Porter hat sich unter Vorbehalten dieser Meinung angeschlossen, nicht ohne zu betonen, diese Hypothese werde zweifellos zu Meinungsverschiedenheiten Anlass geben. In der Tat, wir vermögen hier durchaus nicht zu folgen. Und zumal, wenn wir die Reliefs von La Charité und Montmorillon, mit derem Einfluss Professor Porter die Abweichungen des Chartreser von dem St.-Giller Reliefstil erklärt, für nachchartresisch zu halten genötigt sind, zumal dann will eine Wandlung wie die von St.-Gilles zu Chartres im Leben einer einzigen Künstlerpersönlichkeit auf keine Weise als möglich erscheinen. Von den dichtgedrängten und fülligen Gestalten etwa des St.-Giller Verrates mit ihren schweren Köpfen scheint zu den locker verteilten, von einander völlig gelösten in Chartres und der feinen Zartheit ihrer plastischen Formen keine Verbindung zu sein.

Und wozu auch die Herkunft des Stils dieser Chartreser Reliefs in der Ferne des Südens suchen, wo eine so nahe verwandte Kunst, die des Chartreser Hauptmeisters selber sich in unmittelbarer Nähe befindet? Da man doch gewiss nicht dessen grosse Statuarik aus den kleinen Reliefs wird herleiten wollen, bietet sich bei der grossen Verwandtschaft, die zwischen dem Stil der einen und dem der anderen besteht, die umgekehrte Herleitung ganz von selber an. Dieser Meister, den wir in jüngerer Zeit in La Charité arbeiten sahen, ist nicht anders wie als ein abhängiger Werkstattgenosse des Hauptmeisters zu denken. Es ist wirklich nicht schwer, etwa die Engel und Frauenfiguren seiner Chartreser Marienszenen als blosse Abwandlungen der grossen Gewändestatuen zu verstehen. Man wird kaum Einzelmotive aufzeigen können, die nicht dort und im Mittelportaltympanon irgendwie ihre Quelle hätten.

Wir meinen also, dass ein Schüler des Chartreser Hauptmeisters in einer späteren Lebenszeit an der Kirche von La Charité mit dem südfranzösischen Meister der Transfiguration zusammenzuarbeiten hatte, und dass der ursprünglich rein nördliche und der ursprünglich rein südliche Stil bei dieser Berührung einander leise verfärbten. Neben diesen Meistern sind aber noch andere Hände in La Charité nachweisbar. Zwischen dem oberen und dem unteren Felde des noch heute aussen am Turm befindlichen Tympanons ist das stilistische Verhältnis ganz ähnlich wie in dem Bogenfelde im Querschiff. Man wird allgemein die Zuführung der Transfiguration und ebenso die Szenen aus der Jugendgeschichte Christi einander anschliessen können.

Aber nur allgemein, indem der Gegensatz zwischen unten und oben in beiden Fällen der gleiche ist. Die Christusgestalt in der Mandorla etwa scheint schwerelos zu rotieren. Eng liegende Falten umkreisen auch hier die Rundungen des Körpers, während andere Falten vom Körper gelöst, in ornamentalen Zügen gebändigt zur Seite flattern. Aber es ist nicht der Meister der Transfiguration selbst hier am Werke, sondern ein stillerer Geist. Beinahe glatt und puppenhaft wirken die Köpfe. Und ebenso sind Verkündigung, Heimsuchung, Geburt und Hirten wiederum nicht von dem Meister der Anbetung der Könige und der Darstellung im Tempel, den wir in Chartres wiederfinden zu können glaubten. Chartresisch sind zwar auch diese Szenen, ausser der Heimsuchung, dem Ikonographischen und der Komposition nach. Aus dem unteren Streifen des rechten Chartreser Seitenportales, eben dem Werk des anderen La Charité-Meisters also, lässt sich Figur für Figur zum Vergleiche heranziehen.

Der Verkündigungsengel ist in La Charité in einen rings weiter ausflatternden Mantel gehüllt, so dass die Figur breiter erscheint, was sie übrigens auch der körperlichen Struktur nach wohl ist. Uns scheint dieses stärkere Betonen der Hülle einer jüngeren Stiltendenz zu entsprechen. Man vergleiche, was in La Charité aus dem in Chartres so schlichten und runden Gewandüberfall über den linken Ärmel geworden ist: eine breite nur mit Mühe noch von Arme hochgehaltene Masse! Fruchtbarer noch ist der Vergleich der Marien. Die Haltung des persönlichen Stils ist sehr deutlich hier und dort eine verschiedene. In La Charité ist für die Figur die Fläche eines Rechtecks bestimmend, an sie ist alles herangepresst, sodass selbst Einzelrundungen wie die von Händen und Ärmeln schon flach zu werden beginnen. Der Aufbau der Figur gibt alles Wesentlichen in einer Ebenenkomposition, das Gesicht wendet sich dem Profil zu und wendet sich über die wie beim Engel in die Fläche nach vorne geholte Schulter. In Chartres dagegen ist die Rundfigur Ausgangspunkt des Kompositorischen, und sie wendet sich als ganze leise ins Schräge: schräg ist die Wendung des Kopfes, und schräg stehen die noch schmäleren Schultern. In La Charité selbst gilt das gleiche von den ruhigen Stehfiguren des jetzt im Inneren befindlichen Tympanons, so sehr auch das Ganze eine neue Fülle und Breite bekommen hat und so sehr in neuer Weise die Randumrisse schärfer als in Chartres betont sind. Zwischen den äusseren Marienreliefs und Chartres bestehen ikonographische Gemeinsamkeiten und daneben solche der stilistischen Schultradition, zwischen den inneren Marienreliefs und Chartres bestehen Gemeinsamkeiten des persönlichen Stils und des formalen Ausgangspunktes in der figürlichen Rechnung, zwischen inneren und äusseren Marienreliefs in La Charité selbst ist die Einheit des Zeitstils, der entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Stufe über personale Verschiedenheit hinweg das Verbindende. So sind in jedem Fall Gemeinsamkeiten und Verschieden-

9. La Charité-sur-Loire. Joseph und Hl. Frau. Ausschnitt aus 2

10. La Charité-sur-Loire. Himmelfahrt Mariae. Verkündigung. Heimsuchung. Geburt. Botschaft an die Hirten

11. La Charité-sur-Loire. Heimsuchung. Geburt. Ausschnitt aus 10

heiten sichtbar vorhanden aber ganz verschieden auszuwerten und weisen auf verschiedenartige geschichtliche Tatbestände zurück.

Der Vergleich der Marienfiguren lässt nun vollends deutlich erkennen, dass die La Charité-Tympana nachchartresisch sein müssen.[1] Wieder ist der Mantel weiter und gelöster herumgezogen, auch hier gilt das Gleichnis von der sich öffnenden Blüte. Oder, man vergleiche die Fallfalten des Untergewandes, die in Chartres von unten nach oben noch ganz in starren Geraden gezogen sind, wobei nur über dem linken Bein eine Abbiegung zu immer noch steil laufenden Kurven stattfindet. In La Charité ist es ein breites und rundes Zusammensacken, ein Sichstauen der Gewandmasse über den Füssen, so dass der nunmehr gelockerte Saum sich emporwirft. Die plastische Rechnung ist komplizierter und reicher. Über dem linken Bein der Figur haben sich breite Rundfalten gebildet, die nicht mehr wie in Chartres aus den grossen Steilfalten selber entwickelt sind, sondern zum Teil von ihnen sogar überschnitten werden. Diese Schrägfalten selber sind in ihrer Vertikalkraft geschwächt, statt in starrer Reihe nebeneinanderzustehen, quellen sie weicher und unentschiedener auf, gegen den Saum hin beginnt eine leise Torsion, sie in Gruppen zusammenzudrehen. Faltentorsion und Faltenüberschneidung vor einem plastisch gefestigten Körper aber sind um 12. Jahrhundert die Kennzeichen eines entwickelteren plastischen Stiles.

Wir glauben, dass die Feststellungen, die bei den hier durchgeführten Vergleichen gewonnen wurden, auch für alle anderen Figuren in gleicher Weise gültig sind. Dass die liegende Maria der Geburtsszene in La Charité nur eine missverstehende Nachahmung der entsprechenden Chartreser sein kann, und keineswegs eine Vorstufe, scheint sich uns schon daraus zu ergeben, dass der stützende Arm und die Hand, die in Chartres vorhanden, sinnloser Weise in ein blosses Faltenmotiv umgesetzt wurden, das keinerlei organische Funktion mehr besitzt. Überhaupt ist in La Charité zwar die Stoffmasse, wie überall so auch hier, reicher zusammengenommen, so dass aus den starren Umrissen unruhige Wellungen wurden, alles Organische und Lebendige unter dem Stoff aber ist dafür völlig verleugnet. Die nachtastende Hand des Kopisten hat den Gedanken des erfindenden Meisters verdorben. Dieser Erfindende ist zweifellos der Genosse des Ausführenden gewesen, jener Chartreser Meister, dem wir die Anbetung und die Darstellung gaben.

Für den Fries an der Kirchenfassade des Petit Seminaire in Montmorillon [2] scheint uns grundsätzlich Ähnliches wie für die Reliefs von La Charité sur Loire zu gelten. Ein anderer Meister, gegenüber Chartres aber eine entsprechende Wandlung des Stils. Weit ausgreifend und mächtig ist jetzt die Bewe-

[1] In der gleichen Auffassung gelangt Richard Hamann in seinem uns erst in der Korrektur vorliegenden Aufsatze, *Ein Unbekannter Figurenzyklus in St.-Guilhem-le-Désert*, in *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1926, vol. II, S. 83 ff.

[2] Porter, a.a.O. 1072 *a*, *b*.

gung des Verkündigungsengels. Es ist als wolle er sich schon aufs Knie niederlassen, und die Spitzen der gewaltigen Flügel berühren beinahe den Boden. Der Faltenstil hat sich eigentümlich geschärft. Was wir von der Verkündigungsmaria in La Charité sagten, gilt hier etwa von der rechten Figur hinter dem Priester in der Szene der Darstellung im Tempel. Das Fehlen grösserer photographischer Aufnahmen verhindert uns, auch hier den Vergleich bis in die Detaildurchbildung hinabzuverfolgen.

Zum Schlusse die Frage: in welcher Zeit haben jene Vorgänge der Lösung und Öffnung des plastischen Körpers nach Analogie des Sichöffnens der Blumenknospe, entwicklungsgeschichtlich betrachtet, denn stattgefunden? Uns ist kein Fall eines entsprechenden Vorganges aus der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts bekannt. Mangels genügend sicherer Daten auf französischem Boden empfiehlt es sich, den Blick auf die durch feste Datierungen überaus geklärte lombardische Entwicklung zu richten. Dort sind die Portalskulpturen von Lodi im Zusammenhange mit dem vor 1163 begonnenen Neubau der Kathedrale entstanden. Wir glauben uns überzeugt zu haben, dass die an anderer Stelle [1] erwogene Möglichkeit, sie seien aus der 1158 zerstörten Kathedrale von Lodi Vecchio herübergenommen, doch nicht in Frage kommt. Das Jahr 1163 ist demnach ein sicherer terminus post quem. Die Gestalten von Adam und Eva am Türpfosten sind aber in ihren plastischen Gehalten noch vollkommen unentfaltet. Ja, ähnliches gilt noch von dem 1178 entstandenen Kreuzabnahme-Relief des Antelami in der Kathedrale von Parma. Hier aber findet sich immerhin bereits eine neue Schärfung der plastischen Oberflächen in kantig herausgetriebenen Faltengraten, und über den Füssen ergeben sich die für den letzten La Charité-Meister charakteristischen Torsionen der Säume. Eine Lockerung der Gewandmassen tritt erst auf einer noch späteren Stilstufe ein, in den monumentalen Prophetenfiguren der Fassade von Borgo San Donnino zum Beispiel. Wir glauben, dass sich mit diesen der Stil des Meisters der La Charité-Verkündigung sehr wohl vergleichen lässt, so sehr die Werke auch nach Qualität und Schulstil verschieden. Hier und dort scheint etwa gegenüber Chartres das Sichlösen von Rand- und Mittelfalte des Untergewandes (in La Charité beim Verkündigungsengel) auf einer verwandten Stufe zu stehen, nur dass bei dem Relief die Fläche mehr zurückdrückend wirkt. Auf jeden Fall würde es uns bedenklich scheinen, angesichts dieser Analogien mit den La Charité-Reliefs zeitlich über das Jahr 1178, in dem Antelamis altertümliche Kreuzabnahme entstanden ist, hinaufzugehen, und am wahrscheinlichsten dünkt uns eine Entstehung in den 1180er Jahren. Damals, jedenfalls vor 1187 entstanden auch die Portalgewändefiguren Meister Mateos am Pórtico de la Gloria zu Santiago de Com-

[1] *Belvedere*, 1925–26. S. 103.

postela, die bei allem Reichtum an plastisch mannigfaltiger Faltenform im ganzen keineswegs plastisch gelöster sind.

Ist aber La Charité erst so spät, so wird man auch die Chartreser Reliefs kaum vor 1170 datieren dürfen. Auch aus anderen Gründen, die wir hier nicht näher darlegen können (Verhältnis zu den wenigstens annähernd datierbaren Skulpturen von Ivry-la-Bataille und von der Porte Ste.-Anne in Paris) glauben wir uns zu einer sehr späten Ansetzung des Meisten an den Chartreser Königsportalen entschliessen zu müssen. Über das Verhältnis zu den St.-Denis-Gewändefiguren, die zweifellos in allem sehr viel altertümlicher gewesen sein müssen, wäre ausführlich zu reden.

Hier sollte vorerst nur die Klärung eines Einzelproblemes versucht werden, eine Frage des Früher oder Später, nicht der absoluten Chronologie. Wir glauben, dass das stilgeschichtliche Verhältnis der Reliefs in La Charité zu denen in Chartres deswegen die ausführliche Erörterung verdiente, weil hier wirklich einmal die Stilkritik die Möglichkeit hat, ganz bündige Schlüsse zu ziehen und zwar je nach der Art der stilistischen Verschiedenheiten und Übereinstimmungen jeweils verschiedene, so dass die an sich betrachtet nicht so wichtige Einzelfrage sich als eine solche erweist, an der die stilkritische Erforschung mittelalterlicher Kunst überhaupt sich zu schulen und für die Lösung weiterer Probleme zu rüsten vermag.

THE MOTIVE OF A FIGURE HOLDING IN BOTH HANDS A PIECE OF DRAPERY WHICH BLOWS OUT BEHIND OR OVER THE FIGURE

1. Syro-Hittite Seal Cylinder. Nude Goddess Standing on Bull. New York. J. P. Morgan Library. (Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*)

2. London. British Museum. Metope 27 from the Parthenon. Centaur and Lapith. (Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, fig. 58)

THE MOTIVE OF A FIGURE HOLDING IN BOTH HANDS A PIECE OF DRAPERY WHICH BLOWS OUT BEHIND OR OVER THE FIGURE

By CHARLES H. MORGAN

The decorative value of drapery in sculptural and pictorial art has been recognized from very early times. The Assyrians were probably the first race to begin the development of drapery handling by producing their famous reliefs in which the robes, both in arrangement and pattern, are stressed to a high degree, and the figures sadly neglected. The same fact is true to a lesser extent in regard to the enormous output of baked-clay seal cylinders, although in this field careful representation was never as highly developed, due to the crudity of the medium and the purpose of the objects, which were used as cheap votive offerings, seals for jars and bales, and so forth. Thus it is natural that our motive involving, as it does, a decorative handling of drapery should originate in Syria.

Not later than the middle of the second chiliad B.C. a number of seal cylinders were produced in the Syro-Hittite style.[1] On a number of these we find represented a nude goddess holding in her hands the ends of a piece of drapery, which falls behind her, or, in one or two instances, is held over her head (Fig. 1). She is evidently a deity of considerable importance, for she appears often. She is also unusual in her nudity, for the Syrians avoided depicting the undraped figure whenever possible. Ward believes her to be portrayed as revealing her charms to other members of the Syro-Hittite Pantheon, or to her worshippers. That the object held in the hands is drapery is certain, for it is almost always decorated with a fringe, and in one or two instances the other edge appears. Another feature of this iconography which will later become important is the frequent representation of the goddess standing on a bull.

For over a thousand years this motive disappears completely. In the meantime the civilization of Greece began to approach its peak. During the archaic period, and especially in the later half, the Greeks of Asia Minor caught the oriental love of drapery, and at various times, notably during the reign of Pisistratus, transported this artistic feature to Attica. The vase painters, then in the process of discarding the black-figured style and adopting the red-figured manner, quickly seized upon the decorative possibilities of the classic

[1] W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, 1910), ch. L.

garments and, in the late severe style, achieved the greatest purely linear successes of the entire classical period.

The motive of the drapery held in both hands does not seem to have been imported at this time. Indeed we have no proof of its contemporary existence in Asia Minor. Perhaps the "tanten" of the Acropolis, who so often hold up the fullness of the skirt in one dainty hand, may reflect some such prototype. Certain it is that in the vase paintings of the late severe style (early fifth century) we find a somewhat similar motive: that of the drapery over each arm falling in decorative folds behind the figure. The subjects are raving Maenads, dancing satyrs, and warriors.[1]

This method of representation is continued into the great period. It appears in Metope 27 from the Parthenon (Fig. 2), and in the fourth century in numerous examples of south Italian vases, especially those in the Apulian style, a good example of which is a Volute-Crater in the Boston Museum.[2]

Coins exhibit the same type. In the fifth century examples from Posidonia showing Poseidon, and in the fourth century a coin of Demetrius Poliorcetes also with Poseidon, and coins of Alexander IV and other kings of Macedon with an archaic Athene [3] have the same motive.

Perhaps a brief mention of Grüttner's restoration of the Nike by Paeonios [4] should be made at this point. Since the statue was dedicated at Olympia about 420 B.C. it antedates the first certain examples by at least twenty years. According to Grüttner the drapery, which billows out to form a magnificent background for the figure, is held in both hands. This restoration is not absolutely proved, but is probably correct.

At the very end of the fifth century the vase painter Meidias produced the first certain example of our motive on a hydria.[5] The scene represented is the rape of the daughters of Leukippos; and the two frightened female attendants, rushing away, each grasp a piece of drapery in both hands so that it blows out behind them, adding greatly to the effect of motion. Until the end of the fourth century the Greek artists never considered this motive as having any iconographical significance, but used it for the beauty of line and composition, or to give life and motion to the figures.

The use of the motive for fleeing figures is quite common from this time on into the Roman period. It appears especially in representations of the slaugh-

[1] A partial list of such representations by the greatest vase painters includes:
Douris: Bonn, Akad. Kunst Museum — Cylix; Boston Museum — Cylix from Corneto, no. 00.338; Boston Museum — Cylix, no. 98.930; British Museum — Cylix from Vulci, no. E49; Euphronios: Boston Museum — Cylix from Viterbo, no. 95.27; Euthymides: Munich — Amphora from Vulci, no. 2307; Hieron: Rome, Castellani Coll. — Cylix from Caere; Pasiades: British Museum — Alabastron, no. B668.

[2] E. Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, London, 1921.

[3] *Catalogue of R. Jameson Collection, Monnaies Grecques Antiques*, nos. 335–340, 1001, 1000, respectively.

[4] A. Furtwängler and H. Urlichs, *Greek and Roman Sculpture* (New York, 1914), Pl. XII.

[5] British Museum, no. E224.

3. Rome. Capitoline Museum. Roman Sarcophagus: the Rape of Persephone

4. Rome. Borghese Museum. Roman Sarcophagus: the Labors of Hercules; the Roman Pantheon

ter of the Niobids as on a sarcophagus of the Graeco-Roman period, now in the Vatican; and in scenes of the rape of Persephone exemplified in another Vatican Sarcophagus (Fig. 3) of the Antonine period.

About the time of Alexander the Great, a variant on this theme was created that was to fix for all time the representation of Maenads. The original is lost; but in numberless examples we see the raving creature, her head flung forward, her left hand holding a wine skin and her right hand, held over the shoulder, grasping a dagger and one end of a scarf which twists downward behind her. The Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman periods present a quantity of examples of this type, and the theme appears also on gems.[1]

The increase of interest in the cult of Aphrodite gave the motive we are considering, despite digressions, its real impetus. The Greek conceptions of Aphrodite were those of a goddess of beauty and love, and a goddess connected with the sea. The Homeric poems give us both these offices. As Goddess of Beauty she had few functions to perform. In the middle of the fifth century Phidias created an Aphrodite Urania, suggesting the phases of heavenly and earthly love which were such favorite themes among the later poets. Aphrodite's connection with the sea is linked up with the legend that she was born therefrom, some legends calling the sea her mother. Undoubtedly the story of her landing on Cyprus and her consequent journey by various triumphant stages to Olympus merely traces the steps whereby her worship was translated from the East to the West. Assuredly she is connected with the Mesopotamian conception of Astarte.

It was not until the Greeks had realized that the Persian menace was past, that relations were reopened with Asia Minor. For perhaps a century before Alexander, communication and commerce were establishing an interchange of influences between the two countries, but in that time the cult of Aphrodite had reached large proportions in Greece, and changes in her conception and significance were continual. Praxiteles transformed the modest matron of the Parthenon frieze into the lovely nude model, Phryne. The Goddess of Beauty, while still retaining her original significance, tended more and more towards her maritime functions, and became Goddess of the Sea and Seaports. Her temples overlooked the sea and were near those of Poseidon, with whom she was often associated on monuments and at festivals.

The conquest of Alexander opened up the East and caused a great wave of Oriental influences to spread over Greece and Egypt. This impetus raised the worship of Aphrodite to the zenith of its popularity and influence. It was especially strong at Corinth, the greatest seaport of Greece from then until the Roman conquest, and probably filtered thence to Rome. It was important in all the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Spain, and Northern Africa.

[1] A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1900), Pl. XXXVI, no. 36.

Beginning in the fourth century we find representations of Aphrodite as a sea divinity, usually seated on a dolphin or sea monster pillowed against a broad circle of drapery the ends of which she holds in both hands. A remarkably fine series of gems covers the entire period from the early fourth century through the Augustan era and illustrates well the popularity of this motive.[1]

In terra cotta this subject is well depicted on an example from Asia Minor.[2] The goddess often appears mounted on a goose,[3] and I suspect that this latter representation influenced a very similar series of Leda and the Swan.[4] As minor divinities nominally under the control of Poseidon, but actually considered the minions of Aphrodite, Thetis and the Nereids are shown in the manner of their queen.

Aphrodite also appears thus: on a shell, as in the Boston Museum *Aryballic Lekythos;* or standing with a mirror, a dove, or a torch in one hand.[5]

The Roman Venus was a goddess of little importance until after the conquest of Greece. Then she began to assume more authority. Greece, Etruria, Asia Minor, and Egypt contributed to her success. Perhaps the best representation of her in her Hellenic guise is in a group of the Roman Pantheon on a sarcophagus in the Museo Borghese, Rome, dating probably from the third century (Fig. 4). On a sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale at Naples depicting the creation of man, Venus appears in an assembly of the gods.

The Mesopotamian Astarte was Goddess of the Heavens, especially of the sun and moon. In this way, among others, her worship became confused with that of Artemis, and another important series of representations began. In Figure 5 is shown one of a series of Roman sarcophagi on which is represented the story of Endymion. Artemis appears with the scarf motive already associated with Aphrodite. A small bronze figure of Selene in Berlin presents a very close analogy.[6] On a Graeco-Roman gem Helios is clad in a similar fashion.[7]

Probably with such conventions in mind, figures with drapery of this sort were used by the Romans to personify the air. They are very common from early Augustan times, as in the Tellus Relief from the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (Fig. 6); in a scene of combat on a Pompeian mosaic, now in the Museo Nazionale, Rome; the spandrel figures on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento; and a

[1] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII, no. 39, Pl. XIII, no. 43 (late fifth and early fourth centuries); Pl. XXXIII, no. 41, Pl. XLI, no. 43 (Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman); Pl. XLIX, no. 30 (Augustan).

[2] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terra Cottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1903), Pl. XV, no. 424.

[3] Fr. Lenormant, J. de Witte, A. Cartault, G. Schlumberger, E. Babelon, C. Lecuyer, *Collection Camille Lecuyer, terre cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie-Mineure* (Paris, 1882–85), vol. II, Pl. N[4].

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. I, Pl. J.; Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLII, nos. 21, 22.

[5] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII, no. 43, Pl. XXXV, no. 4, Pl. XXIV, no. 40, respectively.

[6] K. M. Neugebauer, *Antike Bronzestatuetten*, Berlin, 1921.

[7] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLII, no. 27.

5. Rome. Capitoline Museum. Roman Sarcophagus: Diana and Endymion

6. Florence. Uffizi Gallery. Tellus Group from the Ara Pacis Augustae: Goddess between divinities of air and water

sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale, Rome. The flying figure on the *Tazza Farnese* [1] serves the same purpose.

About this time we find the figure of Jove holding a mantle over his head, personifying the heavens. At the top centre of the breastplate of the Augustus of Prima Porta [2] this motive appears; and again on an ivory of the second or third century, possibly Coptic, in the Vatican.[3]

The constant depiction of this drapery motive in mythological art spread to broader uses. It is frequently employed in connection with Dionysos and his train, and often for purely decorative dancing figures.[4] In Roman times small decorative figures were used in delicate all-over decoration on walls and ceilings, both in paint and stucco. Of the latter use of the motive a good example may be found in the ceiling of the Stabian Baths at Pompeii.

With the advent of Christianity such representations of Aphrodite and Jupiter lost all religious significance but retained their ancient symbolism of the heavens. In the Junius Bassus sarcophagus in the Vatican and on one in the Lateran Museum, both of the fourth century, a male figure holding a piece of drapery over his head appears beneath the throne of Christ to suggest the Kingdom of Heaven.[5] Small, decorative dancing figures appear in the vaults of Santa Costanza.[6]

In Egypt the worship of Astarte-Aphrodite was eagerly assimilated.[7] Hathor and other divinities were compelled to include this new and foreign deity in their temples and in their worship. Perhaps the association of the goddess with a bull helped to link her inevitably with Hathor, Goddess of Air and Love. Certainly it brought her into contact with the worship of Mithras, which made her constantly popular in Rome with the later emperors, and helped to tide her over into the Christian era.

In Egypt Horus is given a bit of drapery that blows gaily out behind his high headdress.[8] Aphrodite is very popular both as Anadyomene and Arsinoë-Kanephoros.[9] Egyptian influence, which we know to have been strong in Rome, may have been responsible for the importance of the cult there. Even in early Christian times, while the catacombs of Africa show no signs of the motive, abundant little half-nude Orantes were produced.[10]

[1] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, Pl. LV.
[2] Furtwängler-Urlichs, *op. cit.*
[3] R. Kanzler, *Gli Avori dei Musei Profano e Sacro della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1903.
[4] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIII, no. 32, Pl. XXXVII, no. 27.
[5] W. Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church* (New York, 1901), Figs. 100, 102.
[6] *Ibid.*, Fig. 125.
[7] J. B. F. Lajard, *Recherches sur le Culte, les Symboles, les Attributes et les Monument Figures de Venus en Orient et en Occident*, Paris, 1837–48.
[8] C. M. Kaufmann, *Ägyptische Terrakotten der Greichischrömischen und Koptischen Epoche*, Cairo, 1913.
[9] *Ibid.*, Figs. 45–49 and 50–51 respectively.
[10] *Ibid.*, Figs. 69–70, 72, 76–78.

Perhaps the greatest contribution to Christian art which this motive made in the Coptic era was in textile designs. There are several examples in the Boston Museum (Fig. 7), and they illustrate this phase well. These little decorative dancing figures on the tapestries exported to all the Mediterranean region may have played a large part in spreading the design. Their manufacture covers the period between the third and seventh centuries.

The Mohammedan invasion put a stop to Egyptian figure work, and from then on it plays no part in later developments. One possible reflection of the motive may be seen in a Syro-Egyptian *bol à reflets* of the twelfth century.[1]

In an early fourth-century Roman ivory representing the Apotheosis of Romulus [2] the figure of a man appears in an ascending chariot. Here the drapery is held over the arms and not in the hands. Perhaps it represents some air divinity (or the spirit of Romulus?).

The influence of the cult of Aphrodite persists into the Early Christian period in the figure of an angel standing on a ball holding aloft a wreath as in the diptych of the Consul Anastasius,[3] and in the vault mosaics of San Vitale, Ravenna. Lajard [4] furnishes several excellent examples of the Roman imperial coins on which are representations of the four-columned temple of Aphrodite and on either side winged Nikes standing on balls holding up the disc of the sun and the crescent of the moon. A sepulchral chamber at Palmyra presents a series of similar examples, except that here the figures raise wreaths enclosing portrait busts.[5]

The motive of the dancing figure appears in Christian art of the sixth century in the original of the *Cosmas Indicopleustes* manuscripts. The best of the three copies, now in the Vatican, made in the ninth century, shows us the scene of the "Dance of David." David is surrounded by six choirs, and below are two dancing figures surely derived from such prototypes as the Pompeian and Santa Costanza decorations.

The *First Bible of Charles le Chauve*, 845–850, of the School of Tours furnishes us with our first and best example of the "Dance of David" in the West. Here, as in the later example on a lunette of the cathedral of Parma by Benedetto, the representation is highly symbolic. The ivory cover of the *Psalter of Queen Melisenda* in the British Museum,[6] done in the first half of the twelfth century, omits the dancers.

The *Codex Romanus* in the Vatican provides a good example of the use of

[1] G. Migeon, *Manuel de l'Art Musulman* (Paris, 1907), Fig. 231.

[2] O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum* (London, 1909), Pl. I, no. 1.

[3] O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), Fig. 119.

[4] *Op. cit.*

[5] O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 168.

[6] O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings*, Pl. XV, no. 28.

7. Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. First Bible of Charles le Chauve. Lat. 1, fol. 415v.

8. Boston. Museum of Fine Arts. Coptic Textile: Dancing Figures

9. Florence. Bargello. Byzantine Casket: Scenes Imitated from Classical Models

the drapery motive to personify the air and heavens in manuscript illumination. Certainly the explanation of the appearance of Iris confronting Aeneas holding her rainbow in both hands is to be found in the figures of Artemis in the Vatican sarcophagus, or the symbol of heaven in that of Junius Bassus.

This motive seems to have been popular at an early date, and to have continued so through the Carlovingian period. The very accurate tenth-century copy of the original of the *Paris Psalter* and the *Octateuch* of the Library of the Seraglio at Constantinople, an eleventh or twelfth-century copy, shows in the scenes of the Prayer of Isaiah and the Crossing of the Red Sea an allegorical figure of night very similar to classical models. Perhaps the original of this manuscript was Egyptian, and may have served as the prototype of the Joshua Roll.

Representations of the motive of the mantle over the head are found in manuscripts of the Carlovingian period especially those of the School of Tours. A fine *Alcuin Bible*, British Museum Add. 10546, done about the year 840, the *Moutier Grandval Bible*, and the *First Bible of Charles le Chauve* (Fig. 8) show scenes from the Apocalypse in which St. John holds a mantle above his head, — a direct descendant of the Jupiter on the breastplate of the Augustus of Prima Porta. Other examples may be found in the *Psalterium Aureum*, and the *Bible of San Paolo f. l. m.*

About this time a considerable quantity of small ivory caskets were being made. They are of uncertain origin but seem to have been produced probably by Eastern workmen who, in order to make a living, had been forced to execute purely secular subjects during the Iconoclastic Controversy. The subjects are probably inspired by the Hippodrome games and by classical mythology, ludicrously misunderstood. The Veroli Casket, in the South Kensington Museum,[1] a similar one in the British Museum,[2] and a third in the Bargello, Florence (Fig. 9), serve to illustrate the type. Usually here our motive is found in sportive putti, but in the British Museum example we see a running figure with the drapery held high over his head, and a scarf dancer (?) who is evidently performing feats in the manipulation of his garment, much in the manner, perhaps, of the flag gymnasts of the Palio festival in Siena.

Also in the British Museum is a round box of the fourth century,[3] which may be Syrian in origin. It exhibits the tendency in early Christian times to imitate forms adopted from pagan sources. Here a fine goatherd leans on his staff while the wind blows his cloak behind him.

About the year 800 A.D. a Chinese base of the best Tang workmanship shows a splendid dancer holding a winding sweep of drapery (Fig. 12). It is

[1] Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Fig. 132.
[2] Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings*, Pl. XI, no. 16.
[3] *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, no. 3.

now in the Boston Museum, and is an almost isolated example of the motive in the Far East.

The Pilgrimage churches of the Romanesque period present one, possibly two, later uses of this drapery handling. At Le Puy, in Auvergne there is a dancing figure on the portal of St.-Michel de l'Aiguille.[1] Perhaps one or two more examples may be discerned on the western portal of Ste.-Marie-des-Dames at Saintes, in Saintogne.[2]

A further instance of the dancing figure in the Romanesque period is found in two representations on the crown of Monomachos.[3] Here the dancers are women.

In the Gothic period I have been unable to find a single instance of the motive. The nearest approach to it seems to be a series of French Gothic ivories representing scenes from the Passion in which a figure removes his tunic to lay it under the advancing Christ.[4]

During the Renaissance this old drapery motive was used extensively and attractively. In Italy we find it reappearing in an early sixteenth-century manuscript in the Piccolomini Library at Siena as an appropriate attribute for a figure of one of the winds. On the tomb of Doge Vendramin in the church of Ss. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, a vivacious putto disports himself upon a seahorse, and forms one of the most appealing reliefs by the brothers Lombardi (Fig. 10). Probably a little earlier in date is a *Missal* in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, by Gherardo Fiorentino, in which one of the border putti plays with a bit of foliate drapery. Raphael in his tapestry designs for Pope Leo X, and in his loggia for Pope Julius II, uses the motive at will. Pietro Ligorio employs it in his decorations of the Loggia of the Casino for Pope Pius IV. Thanks to the discovery of the *grotteschi* it became one of the last words in interior decorative patterns of the period.

In Flanders and Holland it is employed constantly in tapestries, especially in borders and subsidiary figures, and in miniatures.[5]

In the following centuries the High Renaissance, the Baroque, and Rococo periods seized upon the motive and used it freely. Correggio, Titian, Rubens and Boucher were especially fond of it. In the nineteenth century Cabanel and countless bar-room nudes hastened its decay; and the twentieth century has employed it on the Victoria Monument before Buckingham Palace,

[1] A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (Boston, 1923), Pl. 1220.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pl. 975.

[3] C. Diehl, *Manuel de l'Art Byzantin* (Paris, 1925–26), p. 664.

[4] R. Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Français* (Paris, 1924), Pl. CXLI, no. 823, Pl. CXXXVII, nos. 799 and 805, Pl. CXXXV, no. 788, Pl. CXXXVI, 795.

[5] A. W. Byvanck and G. J. Hoogewerff, *Noord Nederlandsche Miniaturen in Handschriften der XIVe, XVe, en XVIe Eeuwen* (S. Gravenhage, 1921), border figure in a Dutch *Book of Hours* now at the Koninklÿke Bibliotheek, The Hague, no. 76G.16.

10. Venice. SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin, Detail: Putto on Sea-horse

Reduce!
8 to 15 pounds in only 2 weeks
Vanity Fair June 1926
(NOTHING INTERNAL)
Absolutely Harmless
No Exercise
No Diets;
No Drugs!
A EUROPEAN Discovery makes it possible to reduce weight by nature's own method of expell-

11. Advertisement

12. Boston. Museum of Fine Arts. Chinese Base: Dancing Figure

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

posters for Buddy Poppies, advertisements for reducing (Fig. 11), and "classic dancing." As with so many English words, over-employment seems to cheapen motives.

Of obscure parentage, our motive reached its finest period of development about the beginning of the Christian era under the tutelage of Aphrodite, for the next thousand years was associated with the person of God Himself, then declined in slow but constant fashion to a dismal end.

BANDED ARCHES BEFORE THE YEAR 1000

1. Bordeaux (Gironde). Palais Gallien.
(Archives des Beaux Arts phot.)

2. Vienne (Isère). St.-Pierre.
(Archives des Beaux Arts phot.)

BANDED ARCHES BEFORE THE YEAR 1000

By HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, Jr.

The architecture of the first millennium of our era in Mediterranean lands, which Spengler has called Magian, is in a general way distinguished by its use of varied building materials, of which brick is the most prominent; and of decoration in flat color, not painted but executed in durable marble or terra cotta. This predilection for burnt clay and for incrustation had previously been most characteristically associated with the architectures of hither Asia, which suggests the direction in which study of this architecture must turn in seeking its origins.[1] Some account of the banded arch, a feature which appears frequently both with the use of brick and in marble incrustation, may throw light on more general problems; as has already been done by researches on formal elements such as the plan and the capital. For parallel to the history of forms in architecture between the beginning of the Christian era and the Romanesque period, runs a history of the structural and decorative use of materials equal to it in importance; indeed for brick and incrustation, since they are in this architecture characteristic, of special and even greater importance.

The visibly banded arch made two early appearances, apparently unrelated: in the one case derived from structural practice, in the other from a more elaborate form of pure decoration; while banded walls, on the other hand, with which banded arches are less closely related than would at first appear, always go back ultimately to a structural usage.[2] Moreover, these two appearances of the banded arch are, as far as I am aware, the first, at least in extant monuments: it is, however, highly probable that further excavations may bring to light more ancient examples of Asia Minor or along the Syrian coast.[3] Nevertheless real banded arches have no such long lineage as banded walls.

The earliest banded arches of structural derivation are in the West and seem to have an origin in Roman building methods; while the earliest purely decorative ones are in the East and seem to be developed from an origin

[1] Burnt brick as a building material and decoration by means of flat incrustation both seem to have appeared first in Sumerian times in the region of Ur.

[2] Probably the earliest would have been Egyptian mud brick walls strengthened with horizontal beams of wood which we see reflected in the terra-cotta models of houses from Knossos. Lycian tombs reproduced in stone a similar building custom.

[3] See the final note on page 191 and Fig. 22 for a proto-banded arch about a thousand years earlier which has come to my notice since the completion of this study.

even farther east. The history of the intermingling of these types might therefore serve as commentary on the more general struggle between Rome and the East, but for the fact that this feature in its Western Roman form, like all the other novelties which Rome combined with the classic architecture of Greece, seems to have been not of her invention but derived from the East: even the arch was borrowed from the Etruscans, who presumably brought it with them from the East, or borrowed it after their arrival in Italy. Rather then is it a note on the interactions of various streams in the development of the art of the West, all ultimately from the East.

I

The earliest visibly banded arches on extant monuments are those of the city walls of Roman Gaul.[1] It is of no great consequence here, since they have no important near rivals in antiquity, to be certain of the exact date of these monuments. Blanchet[2] has considered that they were built about the time of Diocletian, when the pressure of the barbarians was beginning to be felt all over the Western Empire. They seem, indeed, generally to have been built rapidly, under threat of serious danger, as frequently the foundations are formed of the carved and uncarved blocks of earlier buildings abandoned outside their circuit.

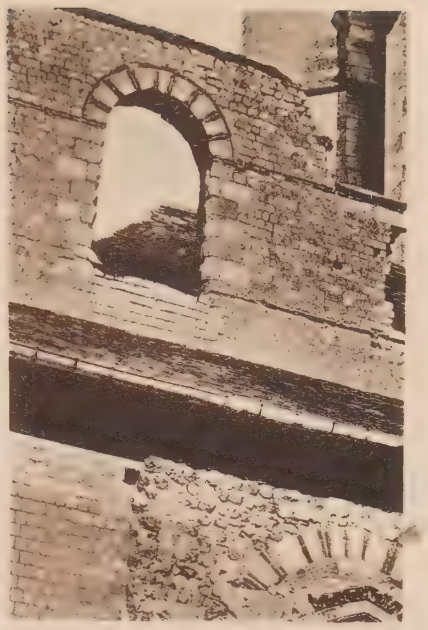
Two points are of interest with regard to these Gallo-Roman banded arches: first, their structural origin; and second, their conscious decorative purpose, even in works of a utilitarian nature erected in haste. In addition, there remains the question whether there could have been a direct Eastern influence behind them, from prototypes in Asia Minor or on the Syrian coast. For there seems to have been such an influence behind the amazingly non-classical Palace of Diocletian at Split coming from the slightly earlier imperial Palace at Antioch. Such hypothetical prototypes would also associate themselves with the apparent origin of the earliest purely decorative real banded arches, which, as far as may be known, are those of H. Demetrios of Salonika. However, considering the monuments at our disposal, the Gallo-Roman banded arches appear to have been derived from the building practice of Rome itself, by way of monuments such as the so-called *Palais Gallien* at Bordeaux.

In the time of Vitruvius a method of building was introduced into Rome which supplemented at first and later supplanted entirely the earlier rough

[1] But the mosaics of North Africa show banded arches on small villas and farms, and this use in minor rural buildings may well have been fairly widespread a century or two before the Gallo-Roman *enceintes*, even in outlying parts of the Empire. Examples may be found in the *Inventaire des mosaiques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1909.

[2] *Les Enceintes Romaines de la Gaule*, Paris, 1907.

3. Senlis (Oise). Château Henry IV



4. Beauvais (Oise). Basse Oeuvre

5. Salonika. H. Demetrios. (Boissonas phot.)

ashlar and popular mud-brick masonry. This method consisted in the use of concrete with a facing of tiles, at first of re-used diagonally sawn roof-tiles. Ashby, the latest writer on Roman materials and methods of construction, in his revision of Anderson and Spiers' *Architecture of Ancient Rome* inclines to accept Delbrück's theory that this method of construction came to Rome from the East; for the large burned bricks in the walls of Arezzo [1] of the fourth or third century B.C. would seem to have had nothing to do with the later Roman developments. Delbrück holds in *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium* that concrete spread to the western Mediterranean from Phoenicia and the neighboring lands on the western coast of Asia. Indeed the earliest concrete known is found in Cyprus from about 500 B.C. He believes as well that elaborate series of vaults, and wall surfaces broken up with doors and windows, which entered Roman architecture at the same time as brick-faced concrete, are also of Asian origin. Burnt brick also, he notes, is to be found in the architecture of Mesopotamia used on a large scale before the middle of the third century B.C. and it can be no coincidence that only after this does it begin to appear in Italy in the vaults and walls of tombs in Reggio Calabria and in the columns of the basilica of Pompeii, and in the form of broken roof-tiles in the quoins of buildings near the Forum there. Thus is some support lent to Strzygowski's statement that Roman tile-faced concrete came from the Asian coast. Returning Romans — for by this time there was considerable intercourse with these regions — might well have reported, not associating the burnt brick they saw in Asia with their own mud brick, that buildings there were built with roof-tiles. Vitruvius advised that re-used roof-tiles were the safest sort of "brick" to face concrete walls with. The fact that Pompeii used real bricks in columns is quite to be expected from her close connection with the Hellenistic East. If this combination of brick-facing and concrete occurred on the Asian coast as well as at Rome, which seems highly probable, very likely there also the later development of the building method may have led to banded walls and banded arches, as we shall, in a moment, see it did in Rome. And if it became there exposed as ornamentation it is not impossible that banded arches as a decorative feature may have been thus introduced into Gaul. For, owing to the frequent interchange of proconsuls in the early centuries of our era and the commerce of Marseille, tied from earliest times with Phoenicia, Gaul was in many ways as close to the eastern provinces of the Empire as to Rome. Thus banded arches, like Christianity, might have come to Gaul still speaking Greek as indeed to us, accustomed to associate them with the Near East, they still appear to do.

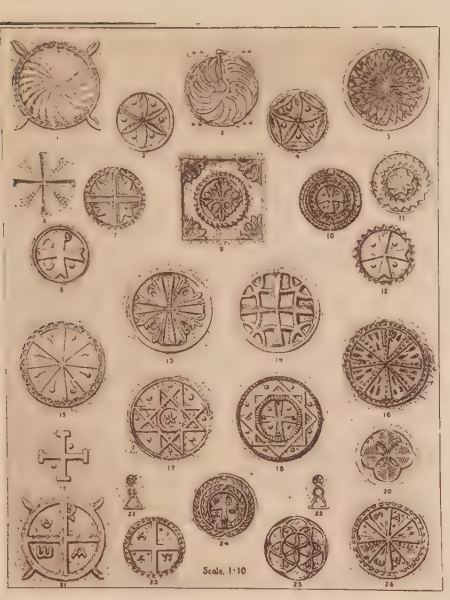
Let us now see how with the development of the method of building in

[1] Published in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1920, pp. 186 et seqq.

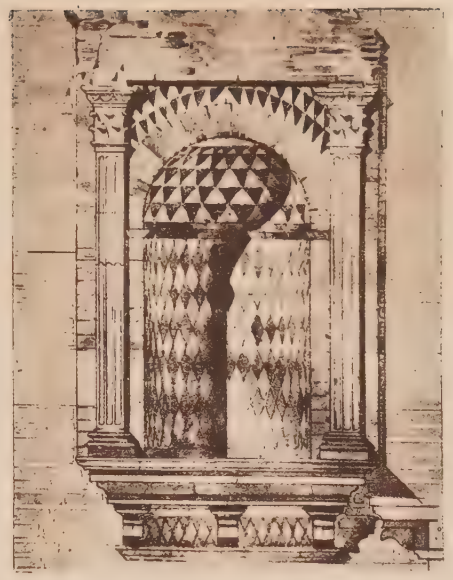
concrete faced with "brick"— that is, of course, tile — at Rome, banded arches were finally arrived at as a constructive feature. But nevertheless not in any monument that I know of in Italy were they ever visible, nor until long after the triumph of Christianity did they appear as a decorative feature. As the aggregate which had at first been of broken roof-tiles was replaced by more varied materials, and as the mortar increased in proportion to the solid matter in the concrete, the Romans, from the time of Nero, ran courses of tiles through the wall as reënforcement, producing walls that would in section have appeared banded.[1] From the time of Claudius this process was occasionally, although not always, extended to the arches. In some cases, where the surface has been entirely broken away, or from underneath, they can be seen to have been thus internally banded. However, when, as frequently in later periods, the surfacing between the bands was of *opus reticulatum*, the arches were still entirely brick-surfaced so that in Italy their banded construction was always masked. It must be remembered that these developments were practically devoid of aesthetic significance, because at Rome, with few exceptions, the surfaced concrete was always itself faced with plaster or marble. In the period of the Antonines, when a return was made to sawn roof-tiles, considerable brick-surfaced concrete, but none visibly banded, was left exposed, although earlier at Ostia, Pompeii, and Ninfa there are tombs in which the variety of surface facings was artistically exploited. The bands facilitated the building of the walls in sections and the facing of tile or *opus reticulatum* held up the concrete while it was wet. To-day the mortar is stronger than the facing, which appears superficially as needless and even unconstructional, although it was not.

When we come to Gaul we find a somewhat incomprehensible use of a similar system even in regions where there is a plentiful supply of good building stone, an interesting example of the persistence of a building habit beyond the sphere of its usefulness. Bordeaux has never suffered from a lack of building stone, and yet the *Palais Gallien* (Fig. 1) — earlier in date than the Gallo-Roman city walls, which, as has been said above, are probably of about 300 A.D. — was completely brick-striped even to the arches, although of course all was covered originally with marble or plaster. Hence these banded arches, although prominent enough to us to-day, were originally invisible. It is not difficult to understand why arches thus handled are used here. In Gaul where building stone was seldom unobtainable, instead of the small diagonal facing stones — *opus reticulatum*, between the brick courses, larger horizontal stone courses — *opus mixtum*, were used, and these blocks could

[1] A more detailed account with illustrations of the development of brick-faced concrete will be found in Miss Van Deman's studies in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1912, pp. 230 et seqq., 387 et seqq., and in later studies in the same periodical.



6. Syria. Cut Stone Disk Patterns.
(Butler, *Architecture and other Arts*)



7. Ostia. Casa del Larario.
(Calza, *Not. delgi Scavi*, 1923)

8. Salonika: H. Demetrios. (Boissonas phot.)

be made to form voussoirs with the brick bands as *opus reticulatum* could not. Indeed this was also done at Pompeii and Capua and even very occasionally at Rome, although it seems never to have changed the appearance of the arches in Italy, which remained until the time of Theodoric solidly brick-faced. The final step is to leave off the decorative facing of plaster or marble and this was naturally taken when the utilitarian city walls were needed in a hurry.

On the other hand, the use of banded arches in the city walls was in the mind of the Gallo-Roman builders also certainly a means of decoration, as is shown by the more elaborate polychromatic effects used in the towers and walls of Le Mans (Sarthe) and at Cologne [1] and by the conjunction of a patterned arch in tile and stone with plain banded arches, on a single tower at Senlis (Oise) (Fig. 3). These Gallo-Roman banded arches are of little intrinsic interest, but before leaving them it may be noted that appearing as a hint of incrustation and in connection with the more elaborate work on the towers of Le Mans and Cologne, and with the large geometrical marble marquetry panels set in the fine brick-work of *La Pile* at Cinq-Mars-la-Pile (Indre-et-Loire) they show that Gaul was already, as regards external treatment of buildings, more advanced along the road toward the Middle Ages and away from the Classical, more "Eastern," than Rome; but not more so than Ostia where similar details are naturally frequent, Ostia being like all Mediterranean ports open to the East. It is more important that these monuments provided down to the end of the millennium the source from which Merovingian and Carlovingian builders (Figs. 2, 4) could receive the idea — as indeed the actual bricks — for banded arches and banded walls as well. Although in some cases, as we shall see later, when we follow the line of decorative banded arches, this idea may have been reënforced and developed by direct Eastern influence.[2]

II

The first appearance of real banded arches in the East seems to have been in the interior arcades of H. Demetrios of Salonika, of the fifth century. These are purely decorative plates of marble, suggesting voussoirs of equal width alternately light and dark, but offering no hint of structural origin. This church was unfortunately very nearly destroyed by fire during the war, but it is quite completely recorded in photographs and drawings, from

[1] Blanchet, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII, Fig. 2, Le Mans; Pl. V, Fig. 6, Cologne.

[2] The monuments reflected by the North African mosaics mentioned in Note 1, p. 176, are easily seen to be the result of a similar train of development, and lend further support to the hypothesis of Eastern origin, as North Africa was artistically closely tied to Syria.

which the essential features may be clearly studied.[1] These banded arches are an important feature of an interior which is entirely decorated with incrustations, and while the absence of any discoverable earlier decorative real banded arches makes it impossible to locate a direct source for them, an examination of the other details of the interior may possibly throw some light on the region from which this motive might have come. For despite the fact that in the West a century at least earlier, banded arches were used with decorative intent as we have seen above, they are so different in construction and effect that, considering the improbability that obscure Gallo-Roman monuments should exert an influence so far away in the most important commercial city of its part of the Empire, naturally more open to the East than the West, this possibility may then be ruled out. There remains also a further possibility, against which there is again no evidence other than general improbability: this motive might have been out and out invented here.

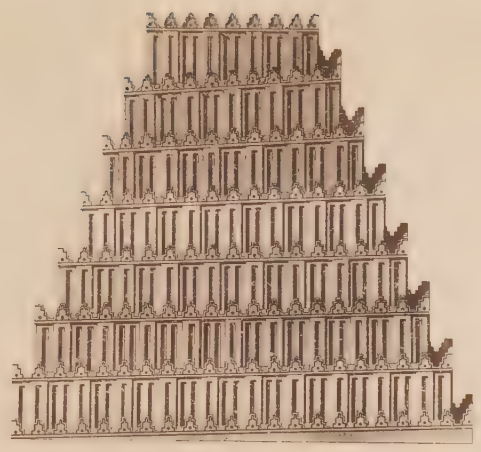
Before considering the decorative features of this church for suggestions they may offer as to the direction from which the artistic wind was blowing that might have brought hither the banded arches as well, we must discuss the question of the dating of this church. We have so far taken for granted that the decorations of the interior of which the banded arches form a part, are of the period of the building of the church, about 450, and not done after the fire of about 630, as to the extent of whose devastation there may be various interpretations from the chronicle.[2] The state of the church after the fire of 1917 indicates that the decoration might well have survived the seventh-century fire and been merely repaired afterward. Two further things cause one to believe that fundamentally the decoration as we know it is of the fifth century, as indeed it seems today generally held to be. In the first place, the interior ends of the transepts in the nave do not fit into the general decorative scheme, and as these transepts are presumed to be from the time of reconstruction after the seventh-century fire,[3] it is reasonable to suppose that the main decorative scheme with which these are at odds is earlier, and, in the absence of other records, original. In addition the interior decoration of the great sixth century churches of Constantinople and the upper Adriatic is of a very different sort, although there are incidental features, especially at Constantinople, which repeat the main features of the style of H. Demetrios. These features, however, appear rather as the remnants of a style already relegated to the less

[1] H. Saladin, M. Le Tourneau, Ch. Diehl, *Les Monuments Chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris, 1918), 1 volume of text and album of plates.

[2] See the discussion of the date on pp. 64–67 of *Les Monuments Chrétiens de Salonique.*

[3] Yet the latest investigations of the foundations tend to show that there was preparation in plan for these features from the first.

9. Nimroud. Frieze. (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, Pl. 86)



10. Khorsabad. Ziggurat. (Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, Pl. 37)

11. Ravenna. S. Apollinare Nuoro. (Alinari phot.)

12. Córdoba. Cathedral. Puerta de San Sebastian. (Mas phot.)

important parts of the building than as the earlier stages of what is to be the whole scheme at H. Demetrios. The general effect of the polychromy is so harmonious that it apparently is all of the same date except for the transept ends already mentioned. Of the elements of this interior other than the banded arches, perhaps the most significant are the square panels in the spandrels of the arches variously decorated in what are generally considered Syro-Egyptian patterns of interlaced circles and square and vine elements (Fig. 5). These panels here inlaid in colored marbles find their closest parallels in certain carved panels in Northern Syria (Fig. 6), which would suggest that they were themselves of Syrian origin. Indeed in Syria similar panels of colored marbles may well have been used to cover the interior walls of the brick buildings of the coast cities, which the records mention as of great internal richness. These analogous North Syrian examples in which the design seems not to fit the cut-stone technique would then also be copies of this hypothetical common original. This theory rather than one of Egyptian origin, based on the common resemblance to Coptic as well as Syrian patterns, seems to me more plausible.

On one of the piers that begin the transepts (and hence possibly of the periods of the transepts) appears a large panel with a diamond within an oblong: neither this nor the oblong panels subdivided by other oblongs, apparently in imitation of doors, on the opposite transept pier and over the pier to the left on the entrance wall, suggest to me any especial prototype.

However, the decoration surrounding this last panel, a flat representation of a niche covered with black and white triangular marquetry (Fig. 8) above a pair of fluted Ionic pillars, also in flat marquetry, is a very close variant of a popular motif in the decoration of the uncovered brick-surfaced "apartment houses" of Ostia (Fig. 7), though not, so far as I know, to be found at Rome. That a Western origin of this motif is to be admitted on this ground seems not at all necessary. The parallel analogy of the probably slightly earlier (about 400) interlaced brick dome in the so-called *Tomb of the Saint* outside H. Demetrios with that of the *Rich Tomb* of Claudian date at Ostia does not need to make us believe that it was a derivation in the great Eastern port of the Empire, from a feature existent but not conspicuous in the port of Rome. For although this dome of the *Tomb of the Saint* suggests also a variation of Hadrian's so much vaster dome, the Pantheon: that itself was built by a Syrian architect for a patron not Roman, but eclectic in his leanings. It suggests, indeed, even more closely, the dome of the Palace of Diocletian at Split, but that again is reported — and the evidence of the design and the carved details, as well as the presence of Greek signatures support this — to have been almost an exact copy of the imperial Palace, built just earlier at Antioch, of which we have spoken before. Finally, such patterned

brick vaults are common in the churches of the Tur Abdin. The peculiar vault of the *Tomb of the Saint* is thus then more or less conclusively of Syrian origin; but it is impossible to find a similar train of parallel monuments to support the theory that this marquetry niche decoration came to both Ostia and Salonika, as apparently the patterned brick dome did, from a common point, probably Antioch. We can hardly claim in advance that stone marquetry is of this origin, since that, in a sense, is what we are trying to prove. On the other hand, niches, as Puig i Cadafalch has displayed in *Art Studies*, 1926, are a Persian brick element, frequently translated, as in Northern Syria, into stone, and not at all a Roman or classical Greek feature. Niches somewhat similar to the imitation one at Salonika, and to those at Ostia, with which we are particularly concerned, exist in stone in North Syria. In the hypothetical examples, from which we would believe these latter to be derived, we would have an example kept in its original brick, and decorated with incrustations.

The imitation of a cornice in flat marble (Fig. 5) is another feature whose Syrian origin seems clear, although there need be no direct claim of descent from the similar painted perspective cornices found in Palmyrene tombs. It is not clear from the drawings whether in the Basilica of Junius Bassus of about 317, which later became the church of S. Andrea Catabarbara Patricia, the corbel-table cornice used in connection with glass and marble *opus sectile* of presumably Hellenistic Egyptian origin, from the use of Egyptian figures and designs on the imitated draperies in the main panels, really existed or was only imitated by marble marquetry.[1] It is, however, a very different, though actually more Syrian, matter from that we have to consider here, for the imitated cornices of H. Demetrios are really more like such floor mosaic borders — which also imitate perspective cornices — as are found in North Africa, notably at Leptis Magna. The general features of plan and detail of the North African monuments of the fourth and fifth centuries, show them to be of Syrian style. Here again we must see the hypothetical intervention of Antioch, that frontier station through which the ideas of hither Asia were let out into the Mediterranean world, acting to change the Hellenistic cornice, an element essentially of constructive form, into a flat band of ornament, suitable for the technique of marble incrustation of brick interior walls. Naturally, North Syria did not in its stone monuments accomplish this particular transformation, but it was doing its part in the pseudomorphosis of the classical world, by changing the cornice with the admixture of the Persian element of the niche into the corbel-table, of which the example in the Basilica of Junius Bassus appears to be a related form.

[1] Published with full illustrations in *Archaeologia*, vol. XLV, pp. 267–269 by Nesbitt,—"On wall decoration in sectile work used by the Romans."

13. Khorsabad. Gate of Heaven. (Place, *Ibid.*, Pl. 24)

14. Florence. Laurentian Library. *Rabula Gospels.* (Carruci, *Storia della Arte Cristiana*, vol. III, Tav. 137, Fig. 2)

15. Florence. Laurentian Library. *Rabula Gospels.* (*Ibid.*, vol. III, Tav. 132, Fig. 1)

16. 'Atil. Temple. (A. Kingsley Porter, *Medieval Architecture*, Fig. 34)

The curtain treatment of the marble panelling above the arches of the entrance walls (Fig. 8) has no obvious analogies of earlier date, although more than anything else in the incrustation its effect is perhaps "Eastern" as opposed to Classical. Rostovtzeff would consider any curtain effect in decoration derived originally from the tent life of the Nomads. The suggestion of tent curtains parted above the arches is fairly clear here, although the steps by which the motive goes back to a nomadic origin are not. However, the resemblance to the curtains in the mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna in the representation of Theodoric's Palace is startling (Fig. 11).

Before we come to the arches themselves, it may be well to note in passing that among the formal elements, the capitals of the nave range are in the majority of a characteristic fifth-century type, and usually Syrian rather than Alexandrian in their analogies[1]; and that the characteristic Byzantine billet-mould with which the arches and the panels are surrounded is certainly not a Classical or a Western feature — rather it suggests a brick origin, although I know of none definite in Persian or other regions (Fig. 5). In addition, the exterior, as indeed in practically all Byzantine and Early Christian architecture before the ninth century, has no decorative existence: the Magian civilization in the pseudomorphosis, that is, its early assimilation, of the Classical, turned the temple, which originally had no real interior, inside out, and left it with no exterior, leading eventually to the "cave-expression," of which the type par excellence is Hagia Sophia where the Hellenistic elements had all with time been completely transformed.

The banded arches occur at H. Demetrios in two forms. In the nave arcades, and over the upper windows, they are formed with plain, alternate voussoir-like plates of dark and light marble of equal width, never very close to nor even intended to approximate the black and white of the Islamic architecture of the thirteenth century and later (Figs. 5, 8). In the three arches of the interior of the façade these alternate voussoirs are stepped in a curious way (Fig. 8), and it is these stepped voussoirs which suggest a clue to the origin of decorative banded arches in keeping with the largely inferential one of the other features of the decoration. The possibility remains, as we have asked in considering the constructive and decorative train which led to the banded arches in the West, that if a similar train led to brick- and stone-banded arches on the western coast of Asia, the motive had there already been made more sumptuous by translating it into bands of marble for use on incrusted interior walls. But it remains improbable that this would have produced bands of equal width which would not naturally have developed in brick banded construction, nor did this process generally do so elsewhere.

[1] See discussion on pp. 86–91 of *Les Monuments Chrétiens de Salonique.*

The more elaborate arches here which would, according to the theory we are about to present, be the earlier in type, suggest a far more distant, but in a certain sense, a not unexpected origin. Straighten out the curved bands of these stepped voussoirs, and you have — light against dark — the battlements of Assyria. These battlements, with the exception of vertical niche treatment, were long almost the sole decoration of those massive monuments of Mesopotamia (Fig. 10), which begin with their rediscovery to appear very beautiful to us to-day in connection with modern aesthetic. Such battlements became a popular motive as well for friezes in bands of glazed terra cotta of one color against another, whose use was continued down through Persian times (Fig. 9). The form remained much longer in the actual battlements and by the devious routes of Islam (Fig. 12) it was even brought in to crown the eleventh-century Christian towers of Catalonia; and it remained always ready to suggest again such a band as our uncurved arches would make of the pattern of one-colored steps against another.

The characteristic treatment of the arch in the brick regions of the Ancient East, was not to encircle it with mouldings as was customary in the classical stone work of the late Empire at Rome and elsewhere,— and almost universally since the Romanesque period,— but to treat it as a flat frieze, of some type used elsewhere straight, curved about the arch. Unfortunately, in spite of the fact that several such frieze-formed arches have come down to us (Fig. 13), and although the battlement motif was popular for friezes, I have been able to find no Mesopotamian arch in which such an exact prototype of the stepped banded arches of H. Demetrios might occur.[1] Yet in the regions behind Syria, through which hypothetically would have passed or in which might actually have been achieved the invention of this form of the battlement motive, which would be a sort of proto-banded arch, there are other indications which suggest a tendency to approach the banded arch. The great arch at Hatra, of Parthian construction, has voussoirs carved with projecting heads, producing in terms of color a banding in light and dark; here incidentally, the walls also suggest banding of one stone with another. In such a monument as Ctesiphon, of which the date need not concern us here, the main arch is cusped and hence approaches banding because of the alternation of the small tympana and double spandrels; and the small arches have brick voussoirs with their flat sides visible, which might easily have been made elsewhere of alternately one and another color. In the stone architecture of Syria, the central arch of otherwise lintelled colonnades was decorated by continuing in Mesopotamian fashion the flat, frequently geo-

[1] Since concluding this study I have come upon, if not exactly the type of Assyrian monument I expected, at least an equally obvious prototype of the rich banded arches inside the façade of H. Demetrios (Fig. 22). For a discussion see the concluding note.

metrically decorated band of the architrave about the arch (Fig. 16). Finally in the Rabula Gospel of Syrian origin and dated 586 (Fig. 14), we have arches checkered, that is, multiple banded, with bands on each range of alternating voussoirs and other examples with elaborate variations on the stepped voussoir theme. But if we can find no actual banded arches in the early East at least, as we have seen, there was a tendency in this direction as opposed to the Classical practice of covering arches with mouldings which contradict the voussoir structure; if in the miniatures we find the motive elaborated almost beyond recognition, that is what might be expected a century and a half later than H. Demetrios in a technique which easily and frequently resorts to elaboration. Therefore we may perhaps believe that in architecture probably before the time of H. Demetrios, on monuments which are not extant, the motive of the banded arch had perhaps lost usually the special stepped form which betrayed its origin, and appeared and continued its career as simple alternate voussoir plates of dark and light marble, until it joined itself in several times and places with the other tradition derived from the structural practice of separating stone voussoirs by narrower bands of brick.

The similar bands of light and dark stepped triangles found in Roman floor mosaics, in the second-century examples lately discovered at Corinth, for instance, seem to me more probably derived also from the battlement frieze than to suggest a possible alternate Western origin of the motive. Carrying such a band of ornament about the floor of an apse or a niche would indeed have produced a design for a more elaborate form of the H. Demetrios arches; but this seems a less probable source than the direct architectural one we have offered above. The greater number of steppings in the floor mosaic naturally followed from the use of small mosaic cubes in the execution.

There remains to be considered the later career of the decorative banded arch after H. Demetrios. At H. Sophia it has disappeared from the great arches, which are ornamented above a narrow moulding with spandrels in lace-cut stone or dark and light *opus sectile* which appear to copy in North Syrian stone technique and in Asian incrustation the flat stucco ornament Strzygowski believes to have been characteristic of Asia Minor, whence the structural forms came. But it remains in minor postions along the walls in connection with simple marble panelling with the billet-mould we have also seen for the first time at Salonika (Fig. 16). Indeed banded arches continue persistently with more or less prominence as a feature of the interior of Greek churches down through Mistra. Externally they appear for the first time when buildings begin again to put emphasis on the exterior. In the mysterious Tekfour Serail in the imperial palaces of Constantinople, dubitably known as the *Palace of the Porphyrogennetos*, which seems to be of the eleventh

century as generally accepted rather than of the fourteenth century as has been lately claimed, the motive appears as an important part of the rich polychromy of the exterior, translated into brick and stone (Fig. 19). Before the eleventh century, banded arches either in marble incrustation or in brick and stone do not seem to have passed generally from Byzantine lands into the West.[1] We are brought thus to the end of the history of banded arches in the Christian lands of the East during the first millennium, but there remains a line of great intrinsic importance and another means other than through Byzantium or directly from the Asian coast by which banded arches like other Eastern ideas of decoration could reach the West: that is, through Islam.

III

The architecture of Islam, which is, until the end of the first millennium, far more germane to that of Christianity than it ever was afterward, showed in its beginnings none of that passion for banding walls and arches which spread over many of its provinces from the thirteenth century on. At its beginning in Arabian lands, in contact with all the wealth of architectural suggestion of Persia and Mesopotamia, there was no indigenous earlier architectural culture to be conciliated, as in the Hellenistic regions. But, due to its builders' nomadic habits and apparent prejudices against that cornerstone of all Western aesthetics — permanence —, very little of it has come down to us and that little is of no great interest: in an architecture of mud-brick, wattle, and palm-trunks, there could of course be no banded arches.

We may omit here from consideration the Mosque of Omar, 643, whose interior decorations, including banded arches, are almost certainly later restoration, but which is Syro-Byzantine; and the mosque El Aqsar at Jerusalem, also quite Syro-Byzantine. The first really Islamic use of banded arches occurred in the mosque at Damascus, built in direct contact with Roman Syria on the site of and with the use of parts of a building that had been first a classical temple and then a Christian church, which the Mohammedan conquerors had shared for a time with the conquered Christians. And, indeed, since out of the impermanence of the earlier mosques in more consecrated regions the typical plan did later develop, it appears to our eyes both in its restoration since the fire, and in what we know of it in past times, as a very un-Islamic building. Yet in the court of this mosque we may still find in certain vestibules in the court, which have generally been accepted as original and built by Walid I, 705–715, banded arches of black and white (Fig. 18). Owing to the natural existence close by of both black

[1] See below, section IV, the question of the Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna and of Charlemagne's Palace Chapel at Aachen.

17. Constantinople. H. Sophia.
(Sehab & Joallier, phot.)

18. Damascus. Mosque of Walid.
(Rivoira, *Architettura Musulmana*, Fig. 85)

19. Constantinople. Tekfour Serail. (Sehab & Joallier, phot.)

basalt and white stone, the region about Damascus was to become in later Moslem days after the thirteenth century, as coëval Egypt, positively zebraic; but at this early date no banded walls are found and the banded arches are a very minor feature. These banded arches taken in connection with some of the piers which are ornamented with incrustation of a type very Byzantine, which we have seen general reasons to believe in the section above probably came out of Antioch or Asia Minor, obviously derive from the line of descent of banded arches on which Salonika and the churches of Constantinople lie. But very likely, as proximity would make this more feasible, we may accept that they borrowed these features from Antioch, which would strengthen the theory that that was the center from which this feature spread in the Byzantine period. But it must be admitted that although the importation of workmen from Constantinople and other places is known, none is reported to have come from Antioch. The horseshoe shape of the arches on which the bands occur would nevertheless be a Syrian and not a Constantinopolitan feature.

The next jump the banded arch takes within the world of Islam at its widest extent is all across North Africa to appear in the West in the mosque at Córdoba, in Spain, on which the first campaign of building was from 785 to 788. This monument in addition brought into the West other Eastern and especially Mesopotamo-Persian ideas which had already arrived as far as Qayrwan in North Africa, in a mosque built in 670. But the great significance of the banded arches of Córdoba, which are, of course, horseshoe shaped (Fig. 20), is that we have the two separate traditions, structural and decorative, of what we believe to be separate origins, here united for the first time, unless, since they had very likely both passed through Antioch, they had met there once before: if they did so and blended, no trace of this apparently spread away from the Asian coast where the examples would now lie buried invisible. Indeed, rather than a new meeting, these arches at Córdoba might be merely the direct reflection of what may well have still existed in the eighth century at Antioch or elsewhere in that region.

There remain two more explanations of the special form of the banded arches of Córdoba. One, which has been suggested above, is that the Syro-Byzantine decorative banded arch met here the Gallo-Roman type of banded arch which existed in the aqueducts in this vicinity, and resolved the differences between them by producing the arch banded in brick and stone bands of equal width. The other, less likely considering the presence at Córdoba of the Roman aqueduct with banded arches, is that the local builders, having but one sort of stone, and being familiar with the Mesopotamo-Persian tradition, and hence with brick, produced the effect they had admired at Damascus or elsewhere in the East with these materials in the absence of con-

trasting stones. Apparently from Córdoba the banded arch motive got into Christian miniatures in Spain, and was thus carried north where the motive was developed from the Gallo-Roman form by increasing the number of bricks between the stone voussoirs at Angers, St.-Philibert-de-Grandlieu and Savennières, although in the greater part of France such banded arches as were built continued to follow the type of those in the Gallo-Roman walls. But there remains another possible influence behind these French examples, which is discussed in the next section.

IV

Two more monuments in the great centers of the West at two different periods may well have influenced the development of decorative banded arches, although the fact that they possessed this ornamental feature is by no means certain. The restorers of the eighth-century Palace Chapel of Charlemagne at Aachen (Fig. 23), which had an important influence in the next century over a wide area, have banded the arches of the ground floor with plates of dark and light marble, but for this the state of the building previous to restoration offered apparently no grounds; nor is such a feature mentioned, so far as I know, in early texts describing this monument.

As to the other of these monuments we are not much better off. In the mosaic of S. Apollinare Nuovo of Theodoric's time representing his palace at Ravenna, the arches of the central part of the building are represented as banded in dark and light with a narrow light fillet surrounding them (Fig. 11). But this pattern of bands of dark and light is carried along straight as well, and also up the sides of the pediments, in which latter positions it appears perhaps rather more to indicate a sort of modillion cornice than a banded pattern.

None of the buildings at Ravenna of the fifth or sixth century has any remaining trace of such a banded pattern either around an arch or as a frieze — or, for that matter, of modillion cornices; and no conclusions about details of architecture drawn only from the representation of buildings in the mosaics of this period can be very sure. If banded arches existed here, as seems to me not improbable, they would have been derived presumably from Antioch and its region. For with regard to the architecture of Ravenna there can be no question of the influence of Syria on plan and decoration: Puig i Cadafalch in his article in *Art Studies*, 1926, indicates the parallel between the development of corbel-tales in Syria and their later development at Ravenna which suggests also the intermediary of the brick-using littoral about Antioch. It therefore is hardly bold to claim these banded arches as Syrian, and since the stone architecture of Syria offers naturally no

20. Córdoba. Cathedral. (Mas phot.)

21. Pomposa. S. Maria. (Cab. Fot. del Min. phot.)

close parallels it must be from Antioch that they came, an hypothesis which receives support from and lends support to the hypothetical Antiochene origin of the banded arches of S. Demetrios, as of the curtain treatment found in both places also, it may be presumed. But this feature of Theodoric's palace seems to have had little influence in the West, although it appears sporadically until after the year 1000 as a structural feature in the churches of North Italy, but never, I believe, originally uncovered by plaster. However, in the campanili of Ravenna of the eighth and ninth centuries there are banded arches of a special sort in which the bricks are alternately yellow and red and bands of polychromy of a simple sort in the same materials. Is this derived from fifth or sixth-century work in marble incrustation? The steps of such a derivation are not clear, but no other explanation offers itself. However started, this particular version of the banded arch had a certain sporadic success in Italy,— it was one of the features of the very rich decoration of S. Maria di Pomposa (Fig. 21), —and when it was carried up with Lombard forms and Lombard brick-work into Germany in the eleventh century it had a brilliant career. As the Middle Ages went on, this form of striping spread from the arches all over the buildings, and was interpreted in other colors than the original, thus providing conceivably the source from which the blue-black-on-red diapered patterns so characteristic of brick work in France and England after the Hundred Years' War, was developed.

If the marble plate banding at Aachen is a correct restoration it would seem to mean one of two things. Either there was banding at S. Vitale, which in the light of what has gone before is not inconceivable, or equally well there was banding which need not now surprise us in Constantine's Octagon at Antioch, and that Charlemagne possibly drew directly from this monument for his chapel, and not indirectly through Ravenna. Such banded arches would explain the painted banded arches in certain German basilicas, although those might equally well be entirely the idea of modern restorers, who have made the rest of the decoration of these churches so unplausible. They might also have affected the banding of the arches of the Carolingian churches of France mentioned earlier, although as we have seen this might also show an influence from Córdoba through the manuscript miniatures.

V

With this we are at the end of the first millennium, but by no means at the end of the history of banded arches, which continues in certain regions on through the Middle Ages and in Moslem lands indefinitely.

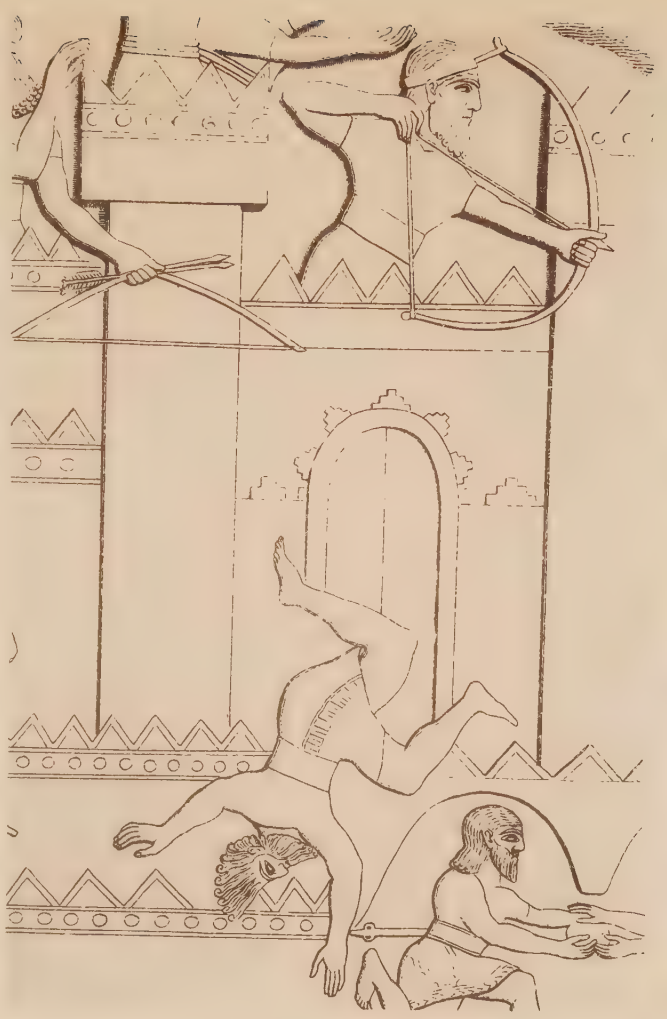
Perhaps the most important single building is the already mentioned Tekfour Serail (Fig. 19), where, presumably in the eleventh century, archi-

tecture begins to display its treasures on the exterior again, among which the banded arch interpreted in the local building technique of brick and stone, appears again as in the hypothetical syntheses of Antioch and Córdoba. The banded arches of eleventh and twelfth-century Tuscany retranslated into marble, and those of other parts of Italy still with brick,— notably the S. Stefano group at Bologna,— come out presumably of the Tekfour Serail directly and indirectly, although the thin stream from Ravenna may in the North have aided. The banded arches of the Auvergnat Romanesque may come from Italy; or from the Catalan Bibles which continue the banded arches displayed in the earlier miniatures, themselves reflecting Córdoba; or as Mâle suggests directly from Moorish Spain. Similarly derived must be the banded arches found in the Bayeux tapestry and in the contemporary conventual buildings of Westminster. Of the peculiar forms of later banded work in North Germany we have spoken already. In Italy the banded arches and walls of the Gothic period probably are dependent on the Romanesque work with perhaps some additional reënforcement from fresh contacts with the East.

Finally the motive dies out and with it dies its near relative, the banded wall. But the banded wall, as has been previously noted, had a separate career far more complicated with structure, and hence of less aesthetic interest, since it was usually covered. On this separate career we have here only occasionally touched.

Neither Antioch nor the Syrian coast, have yet revealed any of its architectural mysteries, and possibly they never will; indeed, our knowledge of the important Antiochene school of sculpture and of metal arts which might by analogy have aided us, remains also largely inferential. Such serious gaps necessarily make the early history of the banded arch dependent to a seriously large extent on hypotheses. But nevertheless we may see in that history — and for a feature of flat decoration and not of architectural form it is particularly significant to see — that the road to the Middle Ages and the West starts out from Mesopotamia and its heir Persia, the revitalizer, through the cities of the western coast of Asia where the new forms first accommodated themselves to the classical in the late Hellenistic synthesis and finally superseded them quite. Nor does this road go through Constantinople and Salonika alone. It passes also through the world of Islam and perhaps as well through Ravenna and Aachen.

It is interesting to note however that from the beginning of its history, the exposed banded arch in the West has the air of the East about it, and for an Eastern origin as we have seen there are not lacking certain indications. Delbrück's theory as to the Eastern origin of Roman concrete and of large-scale use of brick suggests that all that was active at Rome artistically is



22. Nimroud. Relief. (Layard, *Op. cit.*, Pl. 19)

23. Aachen. Dom. (Photogr. Gesellsch. Phot.)

almost from the very beginning due to an Easternization parallel with the Easternization of government and religion, as the study of other features had already suggested. But this remains only a theory, although a very plausible one.

Far from seeing the Middle Ages in terms of the Hindu Trinity, with Rome as Vishnu, the conserver, the East as Šiva, the destroyer, and Courajod's North as Brahma, the life-giver, the humble banded arch, inferentially at least, lends reality to the more Heraclitean picture of the history of art in Europe during the first millennium as a series of waves from the East of which each crest subsiding as it advances is soon overtopped by the next. The history of art in this period is not a history of a continuous tradition, but rather of the continual supplanting of what was once new and Eastern — but has lost its freshness and has become "civilized"— by something newer and younger from the East. As in a society the ruling class is continually renewed by elements from below, so the ruling artistic order was renewed by ideas continually coming in from the East. And thus there remains no conflict between Rome and the East, but only the eternal conflict between what is new and what is old; for Rome in all that is new is as "Eastern" as the old and worn China of the Ming dynasty is "Western."

Note.— Since the completion of this study I have come upon an important confirmation of my theory as to the origin of the decorative banded arch. A relief from Nimroud shows an Assyrian arch around the top of which are carried either battlements or a battlement frieze, thus providing almost exactly the hypothetical prototype of the rich arches of the interior of the façade of H. Demetrios (Fig. 22). While admittedly this does not strengthen particularly my claim as to the intervention of Antioch, that city remains, to me at least, the most plausible way-station between the Ancient East and early Byzantine art.

ÜBER DIE "MÜTTERLICHE" MADONNA IN DER ITALIENISCHEN MALEREI DES 13. JAHRHUNDERTS.

1. Moskau. Russisches Historisches Museum. Die Ikone der Gottesmutter von Wladimir. Ende des XI. oder Anfang des XII. Jahrhunderts

2. Siena. Chiesa del Carmine. Madonna, sienesisch. Mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts. (Alinari phot.)

ÜBER DIE "MÜTTERLICHE" MADONNA IN DER ITALIENISCHEN MALEREI DES 13. JAHRHUNDERTS

Von CURT H. WEIGELT

Man wird durchaus nicht sagen dürfen, das seit Jahren besonders rege Interesse der Allgemeinheit an "früher" Kunst habe die Forschung erst auf dieses Gebiet hingewiesen, aber es lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass etwa die wissenschaftliche Kritik der Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts aus jener gegenwärtigen lebendigen Teilnahme manchen Nutzen gezogen hat. Man tritt vor die Fresken und Tafelbilder jener Zeit mit viel geringerer Voreingenommenheit und mit grösserem Verständnis als ehedem, und man müht sich mit Nachdruck, in dieses noch reichlich dunkle Feld italienischer Kunst aufklärendes Licht zu tragen.

Mochte man diese Denkmäler für wichtig gehalten haben, nur als Vorstufen oder unbeholfene, gar roh genannte Anfänge, bereit, ihnen demnach um ihrer selbstwillen nur geringen, oft gar keinen künstlerischen Wert beizumessen, so erkennt man heute, wieviel echte und tiefe Kunst hier missachtet ward. Ja, man sieht nun schon selbst besonnene Kritiker einer Überschätzung dieser künstlerischen Erzeugnisse anheim fallen, von der zurückzurufen, auch eine der Aufgaben ruhig abwägender wissenschaftlicher Gesinnung sein muss.

In Wahrheit ist, was sich hier auswirkt, mehr als nur ein vertieftes Interesse oder ein frischer Forschungsantrieb, es ist Beweis grundsätzlicher Wandlung in der Betrachtung der Kunst überhaupt. Der Begriff hat sich geweitet, und man sieht das Schöpferische bereits auf einer Stufe erster Bildungen wirksam und kraftvoll, der es zuzugestehen, man sich ehedem garnicht versucht fühlte. Die Folgen, die für die wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis kunstgeschichtlicher Zusammenhänge sich aus dieser Wandlung der Einstellung ergeben, sind höchst bedeutungsvoll. Denn es wird die Fruchtbarkeit einer entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Anschauung, die vom Einfachen zum Zusammengesetzten, vom schlichten künstlerischen Ausdrucksmittel zum reicheren, vielfältigeren mählich vorzuschreiten sich gewöhnt hatte, in einem solchen Masse in Frage gestellt, dass für unerschütterlich gehaltene Erkenntnisse ins Wanken geraten oder wenigstens sehr stark eingeschränkt werden.

Wo die Zeugnisse früher schöpferischer Übung so viel leidenschaftliche Lebendigheit des Ausdrucks, soviel überraschende Reife in der Anwendung der Mittel verraten, wo namenlose Künstler die Kraft haben, ihre Gestal-

tungen im höchsten Sinne aus ihrem seelischen Erleben heraus mit innerer Wärme zu sättigen, so dass eine reine und ergreifende Harmonie zwischen dem Gestalteten und dem Mittel erwächst, da sollten man aufhören, das Wort "primitiv" unnützlich zu führen. Und man sollte einen zwar bequemen, aber flachen Entwicklungsbegriff verabschieden, der in der Regel teleologisch bestimmt ist und in die sprühende Fülle der Erscheinungen eine imaginäre Stufenleiter zur Höhe hineinsieht. Sie wird doch von der Tatsache Lügen gestraft, dass zuweilen am Anfang scheinbar voraussetzungslose grosse Kunstwerke stehen, die jedem Vergleich mit "Blüten der Reifezeit" gewachsen sind, ja diese selbst, wenn nicht im Reichtum der Mittel, wohl aber an Ausdruckskraft überragen können. Das heisst noch nicht, einem nützlich gewesenen Hilfsbegriff seine Verdienste abstreiten wollen, es bedeutet vielmehr, seine Unzulänglichkeit zu erkennen, vor seiner oberflächlichen Anwendung zu warnen, denn er ist sehr weit davon entfernt, die Rätsel der Erlebniswandlung und der durch sie bedingten Formenwandlung hurtig zu entschleiern.

Man hat ein starkes Recht, solche Erwägungen anzustellen, wenn man sich mit der italienischen Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts befasst, der im sogenannten "entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Gesamtüberblick" heute kaum eine Rolle gegönnt wird. Mag man gegenwärtig noch dabei sein, in die Fülle des sich mehrenden Materiales Ordnung hineinzubringen, Altbekanntes von vervollkommneten technischen Mitteln besser belichtet vorzulegen, neu an den Tag Gekommenes in die ihm gebührende geschichtliche Stellungeinzuweisen, so wird man doch bald daran gehen müssen, die Geschichte der italienischen Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts an die Folgezeit wirklich anzuknüpfen, mit andern Worten, das Dugento mit dem Trecento zusammen zu sehen. Es kann gar nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass sich daraus sehr bedeutsame Ergebnisse für unsere Erkentnis italienischer Kunst überhaupt gewinnen lassen.

Der lebendige Eifer, ein sozusagen neu betretenes Feld wissenschaftlicher Forschung, eben die italienische Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts, ganz aufzuschliessen, hat, da die Teilnahme sich zunächst auf das Einzelne richtete, meist nicht bedacht, die Forschungsmittel von neuem zu prüfen, sich zu fragen, ob das bisherige Werkzeug auch geeignet sei, haltbare Früchte auf einem so anders gearteten Felde der Kunstgeschichte zu erzielen. Man suchte mit einer an späteren Jahrhunderten erprobten stilkritischen Methode der Zuschreibung das immerhin umfangreiche Material auf einzelne künstlerische Persönlichkeiten zu sammeln und zu teilen. Dies Verfahren musste aber in einer Zeit, in der die schöpferische, künstlerische Persönlichkeit ganz hinter ihrer Arbeit zurücktritt, in der ein weitgehend aufgeteilter Werkstattbetrieb jedes gemalte Bild zu einer gemeinsamen Arbeit vieler Hände macht, zu bedenklichen Ergebnissen führen.

3. S. Gimignano. Palazzo Pubblico (Museo Civico).
Madonna, sienesisch. Ende des XIII. Jahrhunderts.
(Alinari phot.)

4. Palermo. Museo. Madonna.
Spätes XIII. Jahrhundert

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Man hätte zunächst einmal Klarheit schaffen sollen über die besonderen Merkmale des Stiles, wie er sich in der oder jener Gegend, in dem oder jenem künstlerisch regen Orte ausgebildet. Hat man diese regionalen oder lokalen Stile wirklich zu scheiden gelernt, — alte Nachrichten oder Signaturen werden dem zur Hilfe kommen, — so wird man schliesslich das Auge erziehen können, die Stilunterschiede der einzelnen Werkstätten zu sehen, und dann wird man vielleicht imstande sein, die Ausdrucksweise des Werkstatthauptes zu definieren. Man hätte in grossen Gruppen Verwandtes zusammen stellen sollen und hätte an dem, was sich nicht einordnen liess, den Blick schärfen können für die mehr oder weniger feinen Unterschiede innerhalb der Gruppen selbst. Nun aber hat eine allzu hastige Betriebsamkeit mehr verwirrt als geklärt, und dies zwingt dazu, ausser den alten Irrtümern auch noch die unnötigerweise neugeschaffenen auszurotten.

Wie für das 14. Jahrhundert so gilt in erhöhtem Masse für das 13. Jahrhundert der Satz, dass wir Zeiten gegenüber stehen, die im vollen Sinne als mittelalterlich bezeichnet werden müssen. Der Künstler ist Handwerker; ihm eine ideale Sonderstellung einräumen wollen, heisst, das Wesen solcher Kunstübung vollkommen missdeuten. Er kennt keine Kunst um der Kunst willen, ihm ist sie Ausdruck gegebener, vorwiegend religiöser Inhalte, deren Erlebnis ihm von Kind an aus dem Gesamterleben seiner Umwelt zufliesst. Er malt, was alle kennen und verehren. Solche Inhalte immer klarer, deutlicher, reiner auszudrücken, treibt ihn vorwärts. Nicht zum wenigsten auch der Wille des Auftraggebers, der eine Arbeit umso höher wertet und bezahlt, je besser und sorgfältiger sie ausgeführt ist.

Der mittelalterliche Künstler fühlt sich selbst vor allem im Schaffen, im gediegenen Handwerk, das ihn ja auch sozial sicher in den Haushalt des Gesamtdaseins einbindet. Er fühlt sich selbst viel weniger in der Gestaltung des Geschaffenen. Und er fühlt darum auch im Werke des Anderen diesen Anderen als Besonderheit kaum. Daher die Gemeinsamkeit der Technik, das unbekümmerte Entlehnen der Motive und Kompositionen von einer Stadt zur anderen. Daher aber auch die Freiheit gegenüber jeglichem Vorbilde, so dass, was man heute eine sklavisch getreue Kopie nennt, im Mittelalter undenkbar ist. Und wenn eine genaue Nachbildung vom Auftraggeber gefordert wird, etwa die eines hochheiligen wundertätigen Gnadenbildes — wir wissen, dass dergleichen gefordert worden ist — so kann der mittelalterliche Künstler zuweilen zwar ganz erstaunlich nahe an ein Urbild heranreichen im Sinne einer Kopie, schafft aber dennoch ein Neues. Die Selbstentäusserung des modernen Kopisten kennt er nicht, weil er sich selbst als Schaffenden nicht getrennt vom Geschaffenen zu sehen vermag. Denn beide sind für ihn eines und von einander nicht lösbar.

Einer solchen Sachlage gegenüber wird eine stilkritische Methode, die

zuerst den individuellen Stil glaubt erkennen zu können, ein unzulängliches Werkzeug sein. Sie fragt kaum nach der seelischen Konstitution der Zeit, oder nach der handwerklichen Organisation des Schaffenden, ja, sie beachtet meist wichtige gemeinsame Merkmale geringerer Art gar nicht oder vermag sie nicht zu sehen, weil ihr diese mystische "Handschrift" zu ausschlaggebend ist gegenüber dem eigentlichen "Handgewerke." Darum schätzt sie wiederum nicht richtig ein, welche Macht berühmte, heiliggehaltene Kunstwerke auf die künstlerische Sprache des einzelnen Malers und seiner Werkstatt ausüben können. Sie nimmt deshalb nicht selten für Zeugnis individuellen Stiles, was in Wahrheit Nachklang eines allgemein verehrten Vorbildes ist. Schliesslich behält diese Methode nicht streng genug vor Augen, wie die Zahl der gegenwärtig erhaltenen Kunstwerke zu der Menge der ursprünglich vorhandenen stehe und wie weit es möglich oder erlaubt sei, vereinzelte Stücke für typisch zu nehmen, und wie weit das meist allzu lückenhaft auf uns Überkommene bindende Schlüsse zulasse.

Ich möchte im Folgenden an einer Gruppe von Bildern zeigen, welche Vorsicht man bei der Annahme stilistischer Zusammenhänge zu gebrauchen hat, und welcher Verfeinerung unsere Methode noch bedarf. Die Chiesa del Carmine in Siena bewahrt das Halbfigurenbild einer Madonna mit dem Kinde (Abb. 2), das in Kopf der Madonna und in Kopf und Oberkörper des Kindes vorzüglich erhalten ist, während die übrigen Teile in später Zeit roh übermalt wurden.[1] Wir haben es hier mit einem ikonographischen Typus zu tun, der in der Malerei des Dugento selten ist. Ich habe ihn seinerzeit als "mütterliche Madonna" bezeichnet, und er lässt sich kurz charakterisieren als eine Hodegetria, die mit einer Glykophilousa verschmolzen ist. Im reinen Typ der Hodegetria sitzt das Kind auf dem linken Arm der Maria und zwar fast frontal, hält in der Linken die Schriftrolle. Die Madonna schaut aus dem Bilde heraus, deutet mit ihrer Rechten auf das Kind hin und neigt ihm leicht das Haupt zu. Das Kind aber sitzt so tief, dass zwischen seinem Haupt und dem der Mutter ein beträchtlicher Zwischenraum bleibt. Die italienische

[1] Vergl. Venturi, *Storia V.* (1907), p. 39; ich selbst glaubte, das Bild für sienesisch halten zu dürfen und datierte es früh auf kurz vor die Mitte des Jahrhunderts (Weigelt, *Duccio*, 1912, pp. 141, 167, 222, 224). Van Marle, *Development of Italian Painting*, I, 1923, p. 381, hält das Bild für sienesisch, auch Toesca, *Storia dell'Arte Italiana I, Il Medioevo* (Turin, 1927), p. 1038. — Für die italienische Dugentomaleri bieten neues reiches Abbildungsmaterial: Oswald Sirén, *Toskanische Maler im 13. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1922); Van Marle, *Development of Italian Painting*, I., 1923, und V., 1925, Anhang; Richard Offner, *Italian Primitives at Yale University — Comments and Revisions* (New Haven, 1927). Wichtig für die ganze hier behandelte Frage die ausgezeichnete Arbeit von Oskar Wulff im *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 1916*, pp. 68 ff., auch der weiter unten (Anm. 3, p. 219), angeführte Aufsatz von Wladimir de Grüneisen. Für die zu Beginn ausgesprochenen Gedanken finde ich erwünschte Bestätigung bei A. Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, Firenze, Casa Editrice Pantheon, 1928 (ich hatte die Möglichkeit, die Druckbogen des Werkes einzusehen), besonders in der ausführlichen Anmerkung 1.

Dass es mir vergönnt war, für diese Arbeit (und für eine, unten Anm. 1, p. 216 genannte, kleinere), die Originale mehrfach aufzusuchen und zu prüfen, verdanke ich einem mir im Jahre 1924 gewährten Reisestipendium der *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft.*

5. Cambridge. Fogg Art Museum. Madonna, toskanisch-florentinisch. 2. Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts

6. Cambridge. Fogg Art Museum. Madonna, Ausschnitt: Kopf der Madonna

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Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts hat diesen byzantinischen Typus schon in der begonnenen Abwandlung übernommen, deren Ziel es ist, die Frontalität des Kindes allmählich durch die Wendung zur Mutter hin zu ersetzen. Anders ausgedrückt kann man sagen, dass es zwischen dem Typ der reinen Hodegetria und dem der reinen Glykophilousa bereits im Byzantinischen verschiedene Abstufungen gegeben haben wird und gegeben hat, in denen die Beziehungen zwischen Mutter und Kind in mehr oder weniger hohem Grade der Innigkeit zum Ausdruck kommen sollen. In jedem Fall ist in Byzanz der innige Typus, also die Glykophilousa, schon früh ausgebildet, wie die Madonna aus Wladimir zeigt (Abb. 1), die am Ende des 11. oder zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts entstanden ist.[1] Sie stimmt im Gegensinne ziemlich genau mit der Carmine-Madonna überein, nur ist im Carmine-Typus das Anschmiegen des Kindes viel weniger dicht, und es fehlt das Umhalsen. Dafür bleibt von der Hodegetria her die Schriftrolle in der Hand des Knaben, die segnende Gebärde aber der anderen Hand wird zu einer Bewegung mit fast gestrecktem Arm, die man als eine Geste deuten möchte, die dem Umhalsen vorausgeht.

Man muss die Carmine-Madonna als im wesentlichen italienisch ansprechen. Byzantinisches im eigentlichen Sinne ist nur wenig darin. Die Technik ist ganz italienisch, die zwar, wie bekannt, die Werkstattgebräuche des Byzantinischen übernommen, aber abgewandelt hat. Die besondere "kalligraphische" Modellierung der rechten Wange der Madonna in schmiegsamen Linienzügen unter ihrem rechten Auge erinnert lebhaft an die Technik jener Bildergruppe, die man unter dem Namen des Franziskusmeisters zusammenzufassen pflegt, ist aber auch in sienesischen Bildern des Dugento nachweisbar. Viel Byzantinisches ist dagegen wie gewöhnlich in der Gewandung zu erkennen. Vor allem das grätige Goldgefädel, das die Stoffe überzieht und halb Falten andeutet, halb Schmuck ist. Dann die rote Haube unter dem Kopftuch der Maria, die das Haar eng umschliesst und ganz verdeckt, schliesslich das Lorum an der Schulter des Knaben und der Stern. Sehr wichtig ist das lichte Kopftuch der Madonna, das durch die Änderung der Farbe gegenüber dem Mantel einen neuen lebendigeren Zug in die Gewan-

[1] Moskau, Russisches Historisches Museum. Über das Bild und seinen Erhaltungszustand vergl. Alpatoff und Lazareff im *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, Bd. 45, 1925, Pag. 140 ff., auch Wulff-Alpatoff, *Denkmäler der Ikonenmalerei* (Berlin-Hellerau, 1925). Die Photographie verdanke ich der Liebenswürdigkeit meines Freundes, Prof. Dr. Viktor Lazareff in Moskau. Es ist sehr bemerkenswert, dass der Typus der Wladimirskaja auch von der italienischen Plastik des 13. Jahrhunderts aufgenommen worden ist, und zwar im Relief des Giroldo da Como in der Badia von Montepiano bei Pistoia, darstellend eine thronende Glykophilousa zwischen einem Engel links und den Aposteln Petrus und Paulus rechts (um 1270). Hier findet sich sogar die nach aussen gedrehte, in Aufsicht gegebene Sohle des Kindes. Maria fasst mit ihrer Linken die Schulter des Knaben (vergl. zu diesem Motiv weiter unten p. 216, Anm. 1). Das Relief wurde von Mario Salmi veröffentlicht in *Arte e Storia*, 1914, p. 166, vergl. desselben Verfassers, *Scultura Romanica in Toscana*, Firenze, 1928, p. 113, Abb. 239; auch Walther Biehl, *Toskanische Plastik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters* (Italienische Forschungen, herausg. vom Kunsthistorischen Institut in Florenz, N.F. Bd. II), Leipzig, 1926, Taf. 165, p. 89.

dung der Maria bringt. Es ist notwendig, dem Auftreten dieser Einzelheit nachzugehen, wenn man über die Stellung und Herkunft der Carmine-Madonna zu einem haltbaren Ergebnis kommen will.

Dieses Kopftuch erscheint nun auf der grossen Madonna des Guido im Stadthause zu Siena, über deren lange Inschrift mit dem Datum 1221 so viel gestritten worden ist (Abb. 3). Ferner erscheint das Kopftuch in einer Anzahl von Madonnenbildern des Guido-Kreises (Abb. 11–14, 16), deren Abhängigkeit von des Meisters monumentaler Gestaltung unmöglich bestritten werden kann.[1] Man könnte also geneigt sein, das gemeinsame Vorkommen in der Carmine-Madonna und in den Madonnen des Guido-Kreises als einen bedeutungsvollen Zusammenhang anzusehen. Es läge eine gewisse Berechtigung darin, das Auftreten des Kopftuches als ein sienesisches Kennzeichen zu nehmen, da es in Siena innerhalb einer geschlossenen künstlerischen Überlieferung am häufigsten vorkommt. Freilich wäre es notwendig zu beweisen, dass es in Siena wirklich bodenständig sei oder wenigstens, dass es dort zuerst sich zeige.

Es ist merkwürdig, dass dies Motiv ausserhalb Siena's in verhältnismässig früher Zeit nur bei Künstlern aufzutreten scheint, die in Siena gewesen oder dort mehr oder weniger starke Anregung erhalten haben. Es sind Coppo di Marcovaldo, der vermutlich in der Schlacht von Montaperti (4. September, 1260) in sienesische Gefangenschaft geriet, und der sog. toskanische Meliore.[2] Coppo malte damals die thronende Madonna, die heute in der Chiesa dei Servi in Siena hängt und deren Signatur: "1261 Coppus de Florentia me pinxit," zwar durch die Verstümmelung des unteren Bildrandes heute verschwunden ist uns aber doch aus sicherer literarischer Überlieferung bekannt blieb (Abb. 15). Da die Gesichter der Madonna und des Kindes von einem Schüler Duccio's zu Beginn des Trecento ganz übermalt worden sind,[3] so fallen diese wichtigen Teile für die stilkritische Beurteilung aus. Immerhin lassen die übrigen, viel weniger veränderten Partien der Tafel doch die Möglichkeit zu, sich von Coppo's Malweise einen freilich unvollständigen Begriff zu machen. Diese Madonna trägt nun das erwähnte Kopftuch und zwar in einer starren Form, die als eine Vorform der bereits gelockerten

[1] Die Madonna Galli-Dunn (Siena, Akademie No. 587) steht dem Bilde im Stadthause am nächsten und muss eine verkleinerte Replik der grossen Guido-Madonna genannt werden. Ferner die Madonna, Siena, Akademie No. 16 (stark beschnitten), Madonna in Arezzo, Pinakothek No. 2 (vergl. den vorzüglich gearbeiteten Catalogo della Pinacoteca Comunale di Arezzo a cura di Mario Salmi, Città di Castello, 1921, p. 10 f.), Florenz, Akademie No. 26, Madonna (bis 1919 in den Uffizien). Das Kopftuch findet sich ferner auf dem 1270 datierten Dossale der Akademie in Siena No. 7, der die vielumstrittene Inschrift der grossen Guido-Madonna wiederholt und von einem schwachen Schüler Guido's herrührt. 1269 im Paliotto des Vigoroso da Siena (Perugia, Pinakothek No. 32) trägt es die hl. Juliana.

[2] Vergl. die ausgezeichnete und wichtige Arbeit von Peleo Bacci, *Documenti toscani*, II, 1912, Pag. 1–35, der diese interessante Tatsache urkundlich hat nachweisen können.

[3] Für die Übermalungen vergl. Weigelt, *a.a.O.*, Pag. 211, Note, auch Sirén *a.a.O.*, Pag. 243 f.

7. Perugia. Pinacoteca Vannucci. Triptychon, Mittelstück. Thronende Madonna, Umbrischer Meister, Anfang des XIV. Jahrhunderts. (Alinari phot.)

8. Florenz. Akademie, no. 28, 29. Diptychon, Madonna mit Heiligen, Nachfolger des Buonaventura Berlinghieri, um 1260–70. (Alinari phot.)

Lösung des Guido angesehen werden kann. Coppo's Bild enthält ausserdem noch einen anderen bemerkenswerten Zug, der bei den Madonnen des Guido-Kreises in bedeutend klarerer und im Faltenstil weicherer Form sich findet, nämlich das helle Tuch, auf dem das Kind sitzt.

Beiden Einzelheiten begegnet man wieder auf der thronenden Madonna in S. Maria dei Servi zu Orvieto, einem Bilde, das von Perali zuerst[1] dem Coppo zugeschrieben wurde, ein Vorschlag, dem man Berechtigung wird zubilligen können (Abb. 18). Gibt man die gemeinsame Werkstatt für beide Tafeln zu, so darf man sagen, dass in der Orvietaner Madonna der Falten-Stil etwas weicher, weniger grätig geworden ist, was man am deutlichsten am Gewande des Christus-Knaben erkennt. Keinesfalls aber lässt sich feststellen, dass die Faltenverteilung etwa sehr viel besser verstanden wäre, wofür man den Mantel der Madonna in beiden Gemälden vergleiche. Es ist übrigens sehr lehrreich zu sehen, welche Schwierigkeit dem Maler die Abänderung der Komposition gemacht hat, nämlich das Kind nach links zu setzen.[2] Er wechselt zwar richtig die Stellung der Beine und die Lage der Knie der Madonna, aber man fühlt, wie verlegen und unbeholfen er der neuen Lösung gegenübersteht und die Faltenverteilung kaum zu ändern vermag. So wirkt denn die Kniepartie in Orvieto viel verworrener als in Siena. Obwohl nun das Tuch, auf dem der Knabe in Orvieto sitzt, ein reichlich sinnloses Faltengewirr bleibt, muss man doch zugeben, dass es hier dem Künstler besser, stofflich weicher gelungen ist als in Siena. Dasselbe gilt auch von dem Kopftuch. Die blosse Vergleichung des Faltenstils beider Bilder ergibt jedenfalls, dass die Madonna in Orvieto später gemalt sein muss, als jene in Siena, also nach 1261, eine Tatsache, die durch das fortgeschrittenere Verhältnis der Engel zum Thron gestützt wird. Vielleicht ist es auch nützlich, darauf zu achten, dass wie im Kopftuch der Servi-Madonna auch in Orvieto das Adler-Motiv[3] im Stoff der Rükkenlehne erscheint, das in den Madonnen des

[1] Pericle Perali, *Orvieto, Note storiche*, 1919, Pag. 96, auch Sirén *a.a.O.*, Pag. 251 ff.

[2] Das links gesetzte Kind kommt auf sienesischen Bildern des Dugento, soviel ich sehe, garnicht vor. Mehrfach aber in der Gruppe jener toskanisch-florentinischen Gemälde, die man auf den Namen des Magdalenenmeisters zu sammeln pflegt (Sirén *a.a.O.*, Pag. 264 ff., und Offner *a.a.O.*, Pag. 9 ff.). Auch wie die Madonna nach dem Füsschen des Kindes greift, ist in jener Gruppe häufig, in sienesichen Bildern findet man es nicht. Das Motiv selbst entstammt ursprünglich der byzantinischen Kunst und wird offenbar im Toskanischen nach der Mitte des Jahrhunderts abgewandelt. Diese ältere Formulierung erscheint auch in Siena schon früh in dem halbplastischen Madonnenbilde der Domopera, das mit dem thronenden halbplastischen Christus der Akademie (No. 1), der 1215 datiert ist, wohl aus derselben Werkstatt kommt. Spät findet man es im Dossale der Akademie No. 6. Vergleiche über das Motiv Wulff *a.a.O.*, Pag. 73. — Der ausgezeichnete Gelehrte kommt in dieser Arbeit in vielen Einzelheiten zu wesentlich anderen Ergebnissen als ich, doch scheint mir, dass wir heute die Zusammenhänge deutlicher zu sehen vermögen, auch weil das Material inzwischen bereichert worden ist. Dass unsere Grundanschauungen im Kerne die gleichen sind, erkenne ich mit Dankbarkeit.

[3] Bacci, *Documenti toscani*, Bd. II. Pag. 10, erwähnt, dass das Kopftuch der Coppo-Madonna in der Servi (Siena) ursprünglich zwar weiss aber gemustert gewesen sei, wie er sagt: "ricamato a piccoli tondi con entro un'acquila stilizzata ad ali aperte e la testa rostrata volta di profilo." Als ich das Bild seinerzeit nach Öffnung der Glastür untersuchte (1909), habe ich die Musterung ebenfalls, besonders aus Resten am linken Zipfel festgestellt. Übrigens

Guidokreises so beliebt ist und in dem ghibellinischen Siena offenbar besonderen Sinn hat.

Um von Meliore zu sprechen, so hat man am Dossale in Parma, der bezeichnet und 1271 datiert ist, die sienesischen Züge schon längst gesehen.[1] Auch die Form des Dossale mit den nebeneinander aufgereihten Halbfiguren deutet auf den Zusammenhang mit Siena, da es in der Florentiner maniera bizantina frühere Beispiele für diese Bildform nicht gibt, während in Siena deren mehrere, mindestens gleichzeitige Beispiele erhalten sind und eben im Umkreise des Guido. Die Maria in dem Dossale des Meliore (Abb. 19) trägt das Kopftuch in einer Weise, die dem sienesischen Dossale von 1270 verwandt ist, aber mit dem kragenartig fallenden Schleiertuch bei Coppo in Siena und in der Madonna zu Orvieto nichts gemein hat (Abb. 18). Auch Meliore verwendet die eingesetzten ovalen Glaskörper, die in Siena gang und gäbe sind, in Florentiner Bildern des Dugento aber nur ganz vereinzelt angetroffen

gibt es von Coppo's Madonna del Bordone eine sehr merkwürdige bäurisch plumpe Wiederholung, ein Madonnenbild im Dom zu Pomarance (südlich von Volterra). Der Kopf des Kindes, die Nimben und der ganze Hintergrund sind grob übermalt. Wir sehen wohlerhalten die Musterung des Kopftuches mit dem Adlermotiv, auch andere Einzelheiten, die nur bei Coppo nicht aber in anderen Madonnenbildern sich finden. In Siena und Orvieto trägt Maria den gotischen Mantel, der, radförmig gebildet, nur auf den Schultern aufliegt und unter der Halsgrube von einer Mantelschliesse gehalten wird, deren beide Hälften (an den Ecken des Halsausschnittes), wenn der Mantel nur leicht übergenommen wird, durch ein Band oder ein Kettchen miteinander in Verbindung stehen. Mantel und Schliessen sieht man nun an der Madonna in Pomarance sehr klar, wo Maria auch das unter der Brust geknüpfte Gürtelband trägt (wie in Siena und Orvieto), das wohl in der grossen Madonna des Guido vorkommt, sonst aber auch im Kreise Guido's selten ist oder nicht sichtbar wird. Am stärksten verändert ist das Tuch in der Linken der Madonna, das mit seinen herabhängenden Zipfeln und der Faltentüte offenbar Madonnenbildern des Guidokreises nachgeformt ist. Der Gesamteindruck der Madonna in Pomarance nötigt dazu, das Bild spät zu datieren und eine unmittelbare Abhängigkeit von Coppo's Madonna anzunehmen. — Man wird nun fragen, ob nicht Coppo bereits einen feststehenden Madonnentypus (eine sitzende Hodegetria nur wenig mit dem Unterkörper nach links gewendet mit Mantel und Schleier) wiederhole, also einen Gesamttypus, der auch von Guido umgebildet worden sei. Obwohl es nun vor Coppo's Madonna del Bordone weder von ihm noch von anderen Gemälde dieses Typus gibt, so wird eine solche Vermutung dennoch Recht haben. Schleier und Mantel bei Maria sind abendländischen, besser nordischen Ursprungs, jedenfalls nicht aus Byzanz übernommen. Tritt zugleich die Krone noch auf, so ist der Zusammenhang mit der abendländischen Himmelskönigin besonders offenbar. In nordischer Plastik beginnen Mantel, Schleier und Krone im 12. Jahrhundert häufiger aufzutreten. Es ist eben kein Zufall, dass sich das Kopftuch ähnlich Coppo's strenger Form in der Madonna in S. Maria Maggiore zu Florenz wiederfindet, deren gemalte Teile wohl mit Recht als der Art des Coppo zugehörig angesehen werden (Sirén *a.a.O.*, Tafel 85). Die Madonna selbst ist eine frontal sitzende Maria des strengen Typus und halbplastisch, reliefartig ausgeführt; als plastische Arbeit schwerlich von Coppo, auch sicherlich neugefasst. Ob sie den vorne zu schliessenden Mangel trägt, ist nicht zu entscheiden, weil das Schleiertuch über der Halsgrube gerafft ist und verhältnismässig tief hinuntereicht. Sirén setzt diese Madonna auf 1260, also vor das Bild in Siena, was möglich aber nicht beweisbar ist. Kurz, man wird annehmen müssen, dass das Schleiertuch bei Coppo eine Rezeption aus der Plastik sei, wofür auch die strenge Form der fächerförmigen Anordnung, die eher plastisch als malerisch ist, spricht. Diesen Zusammenhang mit der Plastik hat Wulff *a.a.O.*, Pag. 75, bereits hervorgehoben. — Es sollte übrigens zu denken geben, dass die altertümliche Art der Verbindung von Malerei und Plastik wie in der Madonna von S. Maria Maggiore so spät, also um 1260, in Florenz noch vorkommt, während sie in Siena ganz früh, 1215, erscheint in den halbplastischen Stücken der Domopera (Madonna) und der Akademie (No. 1) (vergl. Anm. 2, Pag. 201), in Siena aber offenbar schon vor der Mitte des Jahrhunderts verschwunden ist. Diese Art lässt sich auch in den Kruzifixen nachweisen, so in den halbplastischen Stücken in S. Francesco und S. Michele zu Zara in Dalmatien.

[1] Adolfo Venturi, *L'Arte VIII.*, 1910, Pag. 304; derselbe *Storia V.*, 1907, p. 109.

9. Florenz. Sammlung Arthur Acton. Madonna, toskanisch-florentisch um 1260

10. Siena. Palazzo Pubblico. Thronende Madonna, Guido da Siena. (Alinari phot.)

werden. Man hätte also nicht einmal nötig, den Meliore des Dossale in Parma mit dem urkundlich nachweisbaren florentinischen Krieger von Montaperti zu identifizieren (obwohl man Bacci darin recht geben wird), um die Beziehungen Meliore's zu Siena sicherzustellen, der sich im übrigen doch deutlich der Malerei im Florentinischen zuordnet.

Gerade die Vergleichung der Madonna aus dem Dossale des Meliore von 1271 mit der Madonna aus dem Guidesken Dossale von 1270 ist höchst ergebnisreich (Abb. 16). Man wird dieses zuletzt genannte Bild nicht für besonders hervorragend ausgeben können, wenn man es etwa neben den viel besseren Dossale No. 6 (Abb. 17), oder gar neben die grosse Madonna Guido's hält. Aber verglichen mit Meliore oder auch mit Coppo verrät es eine erstaunliche Freiheit nicht nur in der Gewandbehandlung und in der Lebendigkeit des Faltenstiles, sondern auch in der Natürlichkeit der Haltung und der Art, wie das Kind getragen wird, schliesslich auch in der sanften, echt sienesischen Beseeltheit des Ausdrucks, die doch von dem Dossale No. 6 oder der Madonna del Voto (Abb. 20) noch recht weit entfernt ist. Man kann gar nicht anders, als es grossartig nennen, wie die herabgesunkene Palla der Maria über ihre Brust und die Arme geschlungen ist. Man bewundert hier ein Verständnis für die Schwere des brokatartigen, mit einem Kreismuster überzogenen Stoffes und für seine natürliche Drapierung, das man ebenso bei Coppo und Meliore wie im Umkreise des Magdalenenmeisters sehr vergeblich suchen wird. Solche Beobachtungen an einem vergleichsweise geringen Werkstattbilde des Guidokreises lassen erkennen, dass hier eine voraufgehende längere künstlerische Überlieferung noch den kleinen Nachzügler in den Stand setzt, sich mit einer Freiheit auszudrücken, die Erbe ist. Nimmt es dann wunder, dass Meliore, so grob er an sich sein mag (dem Coppo an künstlerischer Bedeutung gewiss weit unterlegen), aus seiner Berührung mit Siena eine Beweglichkeit der Faltenbehandlung gewann, die auf seinem eigenen Liniengefühl sich entwickeln konnte, wenn sie auch hinter dem im Dossale von 1270 (Siena) Erreichten wesentlich zurückbleibt?

Es lässt sich also zunächst sagen, dass in Siena um 1270 eine Höhe in Form und Ausdruck festzustellen ist, die im Verhältnis sur Madonna del Voto aber schon Abstieg oder Manier bedeutet. Die thronende Madonna des Guidokreises (Abb. 12) in Florenz (Akademie) ist im Stil freier, in der Qualität besser, als die im Dossale von 1270 und steht der Madonna del Voto näher. Zur Madonna Galli-Dunn der Akademie in Siena (Abb. 11) verhält sie sich aber wieder wie der Dossale von 1270 zur Madonna del Voto. Die Madonna Galli-Dunn aber hat die grosse Madonna des Guido im Palazzo Pubblico zur Voraussetzung. Fügt man nun die Madonna in Arezzo (Abb. 14) und die Madonna der Akademie (No. 16) in Siena (Abb. 13) dieser Reihe an (die letzte ist stark verstümmelt, ursprünglich eine thronende Madonna

vom Typus der Madonna in Arezzo), so ergibt sich ungezwungen eine folgerichtiger Weg der Überlieferung von einer Lückenlosigkeit, wie sie sonst im Dugento, wenigstens für die thronende Madonna so früh nirgends sich aufweisen lässt.

Ordnen wir diese Reihe ikonographisch, so würde die Madonna in Arezzo an erster Stelle stehen, auch Siena, Akademie No. 16. Beide sind ikonographisch am altertümlichsten, die zweite hat je einen Engel rechts und links, sehr klein in ein Rund eingeschrieben. In beiden ist das Kopftuch noch von der gelösten Form der Madonnen des Guidokreises recht weit entfernt, der Thron schwer und massig, auch die Lehne. Darauf würde die Madonna Guido's im Stadthause folgen. Die Thronform ist hier ein wenig leichter geworden, jedenfalls muss man sich den gesamten Thron etwa von der Art vorstellen, wie sie sich im Paliotto des hl. Petrus in der Akademie in Siena findet (Abb. 22). Im Schleiertuch klingt die ältere Form noch an, die Engel sind zu je dreien in die Zwickel eingeschrieben. Die Dreipass-bogenleiste, in den oberen Abschluss der Tafel eingesetzt, ist aus zwei Rundstäben gebildet, die in der Mitte und an dem oberen Rande der Leiste in Stucco aufgearbeitet sind, ähnlich wie die ursprünglich halbrund geschlossene Bildform der Madonna del Voto durch zwei parallellaufende Rundstäbe begrenzt wird. Der Dreipassbogen hat nur geringe Steigung und wirkt noch romanisch schwer, wie im Thronenden Petrus (Akademie No. 15), ebenso auch das ganze Bild. Die so fortgeschritten aussehende Dreizahl der Engel ist offenbar eine neue Lösung des Meisters, da die grossen Zwickel des gewaltigen Bildes mit *einem* Engel sich nicht füllen liessen.[1] Die Madonna Galli-Dunn kann man nur als eine Schulwiederholung der grossen Madonna bezeichnen. Sie ist als Bildfläche beträchtlich schmaler, der Dreipass-Bogen viel steiler, das Ganze in der Empfindung für Proportionen beträchtlich gotischer, ganz wie die Florentiner Madonna, die noch leichter geworden ist. Das Kopftuch ist hier in seiner Bildung ganz frei und verrät keine Erinnerung mehr an die noch altertümelnde Form der Madonna in Arezzo. Es ist die Form, die im Dossale von 1270 bereits mechanisch erstarrt ist. Der ganzen Reihe gemeinsam ist das höchst entschiedene Nach-Rechts-Sitzen (vom Beschauer aus) der Maria, das ein besonders wichtiges Merkmal all' dieser sienesischen Madonnenbilder ist.

[1] Im Dossale der Akademie (No. 6) in Siena (Abb. 17) ist in die Zwickel rechts und links vom Mittelbilde dreimal je ein Engel eingeschrieben. Sollte Guido sein Motiv nicht aus einer solchen, doch nicht etwa neuen Anordnung der Engel haben entwickeln können? Wenn in unmittelbarer Nähe Guido's selbst, in der Geburt Christi auf dem Petrusaltar in der Akademie (Abb. 22) die lebhafte Akklamation von je drei ähnlich aufgereihten Engeln sich findet, konnte der Meister selbst die altertümlichere Form in seiner grossen Madonna wohl ebenfalls erreichen. Im Dossale No. 6 schwingen die Engel Weihrauchfässer oder assistieren nur; bei Guido beugen sie sich anbetend vor. Das Motiv hat bekanntlich in Siena Schule gemacht; es führt eine gerade Linie von Guido selbst, über den eben angeführten Petrusaltar, die Madonna aus S. Cecilia in Crevole, die Madonna Duccio's in Perugia bis zu Duccio's Maestà.

11. Siena. Akademie, no. 587. Kreis des Guido da Siena. Thronende Madonna (Madonna Galli-Dunn). (Alinari phot.)

12. Florenz. Akademie no. 26 (Kreis des Guido da Siena. Thronende Madonna. (Brogi phot.)

Zeitlich geordnet sieht die Reihe ganz anders aus, vor allem dann, wenn man die Originale wieder und wieder nachprüft. Um zu einer zeitlichen Folge von einiger Sicherheit zu kommen, genügt es noch nicht, den Weg vom Schweren zum Leichten klar zu machen, wie es eben geschehen ist. Beweiskräftiger wird es schon, wenn sich ergibt, dass auf diesem Wege das Proportionsempfinden aus der Breite in die Höhe strebt, also dem gotischen Gefühl entgegenkommt. Schon die auffallende Gotisierung fordert es, die Madonna Galli-Dunn für später als die grosse Guido-Madonna zu halten, und das gilt auch für die Florentiner Madonna. Ist der Schluss nun zwingend, die Madonna in Arezzo müsse, weil der Thron so altertümlich schwer ist, weil das Kopftuch die ältere Form zeigt, früher als die Madonna im Stadthause entstanden sein, zumal das Gefühl für das Körperhafte offenbar geringer ausgebildet ist, als in der Madonna des Meisters, oder weil der Knabe steifer dasitzt als in Guido's Madonna? Der Schluss ist nicht zwingend.

Das Bild in Arezzo enthält nämlich ein Motiv, das für Madonnenbilder des Dugento einzigartig ist [1] und das Altertümliche der Tafel Lügen straft. Wie Maria das weisse Tuch unter dem Kinderkörper kräftig mit der Hand zusammenfasst, so dass der Daumen und die beiden oberen Fingerglieder verschwinden und man die Mittelhand in Aufsicht sieht, dies hat in anderen Madonnenbildern der Zeit ausserhalb Sienas keine Parallele. Auch die Madonna der Akademie in Siena (No. 16) bringt dieses Motiv. Die Art, wie es beide Male verstanden ist, wie natürlich der Faltenüberfall sich gibt, das kann nur eine späte Lösung sein, die über das, was Guido im Stadthause vermag, hinaus geht, so gut bei ihm auch der hängende Faltenzipfel des Tuches dargestellt ist. Im Sinne byzantinischer Ikonen (bei der halbliegenden Maria) breitet er dieses Tuch matratzenartig unter dem Körper des Kindes aus. Das Sitzen des Knaben gewinnt nun in Arezzo und Siena (Akademie No. 16) eine entschiedene Klarheit, die der grossen Madonna des Meisters gegenüber neu wirkt, in Wahrheit aber altertümlicher ist, weil es das Sitzmotiv des Kindes der Hodegetria ist. Guido hatte im Stadthause Maria mit einer grossgereckten Gebärde in die linke Achselhöhle des Kindes greifen und den kleinen Christus von sich selbst weg halten lassen. Zum ersten Mal in einer monumentalen thronenden Madonna vermag der Knabe so ungezwungen empor in das Antlitz der Mutter zu blicken. Dieses Von-Sich-Weghalten des Kindes klingt in der Aretiner Tafel deutlich nach und wird durch den "Handgriff" noch verstärkt.

Sehr merkwürdig ist es, wie die Florentiner Madonna beide Motive mit einander unglücklich kombiniert. Sie ist eben eine späte Nachbildung der Madonna Guidos, die das nach der Vollendung dieses Bildes neu entwickelte

[1] Für das blosse Greifmotiv dieser Art gibt es im Umkreise Guido's Beispiele, so im Dossale No. 6, wie Petrus die Schriftrolle hält, dieselbe Gebärde im Petrusaltar u.a.

Greifmotiv ganz ungeschickt mit dem älteren zusammenleimt. Matratze und Zipfel sind im Stadthause, sind in der Madonna Galli-Dunn logisch begriffen. Bausch, Handgriff und Zipfel wirken in Arezzo und in der Madonna der Akademie (No. 16) sinnvoll. In der Florentiner Tafel ist ein Missverständnis daraus geworden, das typisch für einen Nachahmer ist. So ergibt sich zeitlich, dass die Madonna des Guido am Anfang steht. Wie aber Bilder Guido's, die vor der grossen Madonna entstanden wären, ausgesehen haben mögen, dafür bietet die Madonna in Arezzo mit ihren deutlich altertümlichen Zügen ein Beispiel.

Wenn ich oben angedeutet habe, in welchem Verhältnis die wichtigsten Bilder des Guido-Kreises zu einander stehen, so ist es wohl notwendig, diese Andeutungen hier zu vervollständigen. Der Dossale von 1270 (Siena, Akademie No. 7) würde, wenn es erlaubt ist, das Absteigende der Guidesken Überlieferung im Bilde der thronenden Madonna den Mondphasen nach dem Vollmonde zu vergleichen, in letzten Viertel stehen, wie etwa die Madonna in Florenz. Man würde geneigt sein, dieses zuletzt genannte Bild zeitlich noch vor den Dossale von 1270 zu setzen, wenn es nicht gefährlich wäre, solche Stilunterschiede allzu weit auszudeuten. Gibt man ihnen beiden ungefähr die gleiche Stilstufe, so tut man gewiss nicht zuviel, denn die Abschleifung des Stiles hat in diesen Bildern ungefähr die nämliche Phase erreicht. Schrittweise in die Tiefe der Zeit zurückschreitend formt sich dann eine Reihe, die über den Dossale in der Akademie No. 6, die Madonna del Voto zum Petrusalter (Siena, Akademie No. 15) führt, der, wie mir scheint, der grossen Madonna des Guido, wenn man deren verhältnismässig guterhaltene Teile vergleicht, ziemliche nahe steht. Diese Reihe lässt sich mit der thronenden Madonna verschränken und zwar durch die Madonna del Voto. Im Sinne des Oben-Gesagten gehört die Madonna Galli-Dunn etwa der Phase der Madonna del Voto an, für die eine zeitliche Festlegung möglich ist.

Eine alte sienesische Überlieferung, die sich bereits im Trecento nachweisen lässt,[1] führt den Sieg von Montaperti auf die unmittelbare Hilfe der Muttergottes zurück. Die Tradition besagt, dass man als Dank für diese Hilfe das Hochaltarbild des Domes 1260 durch ein neues ersetzte, mit dem deutlich zum Ausdruck gebracht werden sollte, dass man in der Madonna die Schutzpatronin der Stadt sehe. Sicher ist, dass von diesem Jahre an, die Siegel der Stadt den Zusatz *Civitas Virginis*, Stadt der Allerheiligsten Jungfrau, enthalten. Schon früh tauchte für dieses neue Gnadenbild die Bezeichnung *Madonna degli occhi grossi* auf. Die Überlieferung berichtet ferner, dass diese Madonna 1310 durch Duccio's Maestà ersetzt wurde. Dass man ein Gnadenbild, welches an ein so tieferregendes Ereignis wie Montaperti geknüpft war, und das darum in Ehren stand, nicht einfach beseitigte, bedarf

[1] Vergl. Weigelt, *a.a.O.*, p. 8, Note, p. 214, Note.

13. Siena. Akademie no. 16. Kreis des Guido da Siena.
Thronende Madonna. (Anderson phot.)

14. Arezzo. Pinakothek no. 2. Kreis des Guido da Siena.
Thronende Madonna

keiner Erörterung. Die Tradition hat nun stets in der Madonna del Voto,[1] die auch Madonna delle Grazie heisst und noch heute hochheilig gehalten wird, dieses 1260 gemalte Bild gesehen (Siena, Dom, Cappella delle Grazie). In der Tat fallen an diesem ganz ungewöhnlich bedeutenden Bilde die grossen dunklen, ein wenig schwermütigen Augen auf, die jene obengenannte Bezeichnung durchaus rechtfertigen. Dies Bild gehört nun dem Umkreise des Guido unbezweifelbar an, und gerade im Hinblick auf den Dossale von 1270 muss man es jener voraufgehenden freieren Richtung zuschreiben. Das Datum 1260, das die Tradition bereit hat, würde demnach auch mit dem kunstgeschichtlichen Ergebnis sehr wohl übereinstimmen (Abb. 20).

Obwohl nun die Madonna del Voto mit der Freiheit ihres Stils und wegen ihrer zarten Beseeltheit sich über die andern Madonnen des Guido-Kreises sehr merklich erhebt, so scheint sie, obwohl sie sich mit der grossen Guido-Madonna — die Madonna del Voto ist vermutlich ursprünglich auch eine thronende Madonna gewesen — kaum vergleichen lässt, dennoch im allgemeinen Zusammenhang der Überlieferung Guido's betrachtet diesem Bilde gegenüber eine schon schwächer gewordene Stilphase zu vertreten, die das Meisterwerk Guido's selbst schon voraussetzt. Sie steht der Florentiner Madonna und deren schon erstarrtem Stil verhältnismässig näher.[2] Dass die Madonna del Voto das lichte Kopftuch nicht hat, darf man nicht als Beweis für besondere zeitliche Altertümlichkeit nehmen, etwa gegenüber der grossen Guido-Madonna, da die Rezeption einzelner Motive sich durchaus nicht so folgerichtig vollzieht, wie man gewöhnlich anzunehmen pflegt, denn es können in später Zeit noch altertümliche Motive wieder verwendet werden, wofür es doch hinreichende Beispiele gibt. Auch diese Erwägungen führen also zu dem Schluss, die Madonna des Guido im Stadthause zeitlich vor die Madonna del Voto zu setzen, also ungefähr in die Mitte des Jahrhunderts.

Lehnt man die Glaubwürdigkeit des Datums der berühmten Inschrift ab, wie es immer wieder geschieht, so tut man am besten, zuzugeben dass man über seine wahre Form nichts mehr auszusagen vermöge. Denn die Interpolation irgend eines Zahlenbuchstaben bleibt am Ende doch eine willkürliche Spielerei. Kehrt diese Inschrift aber auf dem Dossale von 1270 mit einer späten Zeitangabe wieder, so ist jedenfalls dieser Schluss zwingend, dass das unverkennbare Schulbild die Inschrift nicht zuerst gebracht haben kann, selbst wenn diese Inschrift, wie Zdekauer gezeigt hat, eine auch sonst

[1] Die Bezeichnung *Madonna del Voto* bezieht sich unmittelbar auf jenes Gelübde, mit dem sich die Stadt Siena nach Montaperti der Mutter Gottes verlobte. Es wurde dem Bilde 1311 im rechten Seitenschiff des Domes an der Stelle des heutigen Altares des hl. Franz von Sales eine besondere, wenig tiefe Kapelle eingeräumt. 1661 wurde die heutige Kapelle delle Grazie von Alexander VII. (Fabio Chigi) erbaut und das Bild dorthin übergeführt. Vergl. *Guida storico-artistica del Duomo di Siena* (Siena, 1908), pp. 38, 41, 207.

[2] Ich würde freilich heute nicht mehr den Mut haben, die Florentiner Madonna so nahe an die Madonna del Voto heranzurücken, wie ich es früher getan habe (*Duccio*, p. 221). Die Madonna in Florenz ist später entstanden und im Stil schon manieristisch verhärtet.

gebräuchliche Formel ist. Eine so feierliche Nennung des eigenen Namens hat ihren guten Sinn bei der grossen Kraftanstrengung einer monumentalen Arbeit, wie die schöne Inschrift ihn auch hat, die Duccio unter seine Maestà setzte. Unter dem Bilde eines schwachen Schülers könnte sie höchstens als eine Berufung auf die verehrungswürdige Leistung des Meisters ihre Geltung besitzen.[1]

Die grosse Madonna Guido's ist eben die schöpferische Tat, die sich im Spiegel des Umkreises der Schüler bald trüber bald reiner bricht. Sie gerade scheint mir ein Musterbeispiel dafür zu sein, dass eine Überlieferung unvermutet aus dem Dunkel gross auftauchen kann, scheinbar ohne Vorläufer zu haben, um in die Zeit hinein auf uns zu sich abzuschwächen und zu versanden, bis ein neuer Geist das Alte aufnimmt und mit der Kraft seines Genies umformt und verjüngt. Wenn der mittelalterliche Künstler hinter seinem Werk auch ganz zu verschwinden scheint, wenn auch die Überlieferung ihre gesetzgebende Macht hat, so ist dieser Künstler darum doch schöpferisch und die Überlieferung lebt in Wahrheit von ihm. Denn wer könnte den Mut haben, die gewaltigen schöpferischen Kräfte, die in der italienischen Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts am Werke sind, nicht anerkennen zu wollen?

Aus den voraufgehenden Erörterungen scheint mir für unsere besondere Frage das Ergebnis gewonnen zu sein, dass um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts und auch noch vor ihr die sienesische Malerei eine erste Blüte erlebte, so dass Coppo 1261 einer künstlerischen Übung gegenüber stand, die seinem eigenen Können nicht nur ebenbürtig, sondern überlegen war. Bei ihm ist nicht nur die Form des Kopftuches gegenüber sienesischen Madonnen altertümlich, auch das wenig ausgesprochen Seitwärts-Sitzen der Maria wirkt so, von dem spitzigen, hakigen Faltenstil der Servi-Madonna ganz zu schweigen. In einer sonderbaren Verlegenheit klebt er an den herkömmlichen, frontal gestellten, lehnenlosen Thron, die von einem byzantinischen Holzthron genommene leichte lyraförmige Lehne an. Wieviel folgerichtiger wirkt dagegen der Thron

[1] Die Inschrift auf dem Dossale wiederholt den Tenor der Verse auf der Guido-Madonna, doch erst mit dem Worte "amenis" beginnend. Die Jahreszahl 1270 ist aber in Worten ausgeschrieben. Die Inschrift ist verdorben und offensichtlich nicht unberührt. Dass sie erst mit dem Worte "amenis" anhebt (Fragmente zerstörter Buchstaben sind noch davor erkennbar), muss stutzig machen. Wegen der Reime muss der fehlende Teile der Verse vorausgesetzt, doch kann (aber muss nicht) statt Guido ein anderer Name angenommen werden. Der Anfang der Inschrift wäre nur auf der linken vertikalen Rahmenleiste, die neben Franziskus ehemals vorhanden gewesen sein muss, zu vermuten, eine höchst sonderbare Anbringung einer Inschrift. Ein allzu sicheres Fundament kann man diese Inschrift jedenfalls nicht nennen. Das Datum selbst scheint aber dennoch richtig überliefert zu sein, da das Abklingen des Guidesken Stiles in die Jahre gefallen sein muss, da Duccio ein Jüngling war. Vergleiche zur Inschrift Alessandro Lisini in *Miscellanea storica senese* III, 1895, p. 10. und Lodovico Zdekauer im *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* XIII, 1906, pp. 255 ff.— Zur Guido-Frage vergl. meinen Artikel in *Thieme-Beckers-Künstlerlexikon*, Bd. XV, 1924, pp. 280 ff. Meine oben vertretene abweichende Anschauung scheint mir nach neuer und wiederholter Prüfung richtiger, weil das Datum 1221 im Zusammenhang der gesamten mittelitalienischen Entwicklung zu früh sein würde. Dies Herunterrücken des Bildes auf vor die Mitte des Jahrhunderts ändert jedoch für die Einschätzung der Kunst Guido's und die Wirkung seiner monumentalen Lösung nichts.

15. Siena. Chiesa dei Servi. Gedächtniskapelle für die Kriegsgefallenen. Coppo di Marcovaldo. Thronende Madonna, 1261. (Brogi phot.)

16. Siena. Akademie no. 7. Kreis des Guido da Siena, Dossale: die Madonna mit Franziskus, Johannes dem Täufer, Johannes Evangelista und Magdalena, datiert 1270. (Anderson phot.)

17. Siena. Akademie no. 6. Kreis des Guido da Siena, Dossale: die Madonna mit Paulus, Petrus, Johannes Evangelista, Jakobus, um 1260. (Alinari phot.)

der Aretiner Madonna (Abb. 14), der massig und schwer ist, aber schon verkürzt gezeigt wird. Es scheint also, dass Coppo's Formulierung vom Sienesischen unabhängig ist in Bezug auf die Gesamtkoposition, dass man aber doch das weisse Tuch unter dem Kinde neben anderem als eine wenig glückliche Rezeption aus der Madonna des Guido ansehen muss. In der Madonna zu Orvieto ist wohl auch das Aufblicken des Kindes zur Mutter aus der Tafel des Guido übernommen, wie überhaupt dieses Bild nicht nur im Faltenstil, sondern auch im Antlitz der Maria — wobei ich offen lasse, ob das Madonnengesicht im gegenwärtigen Zustande authentisch ist — mir sienesische Züge und sienesisches sentimento zu verraten scheint. Obwohl es möglich wäre, auch in der Faltenverteilung der Madonna des Coppo in Siena (besonders am Unterkörper, von den Hüften abwärts) einen Nachklang der Faltenverteilung der Madonna Guido's zu sehen, so wird Coppo doch einen älteren Typus der thronenden Madonna verwendet haben, der schon im Toskanischen gewirkt hatte, da Coppo dort das Motiv, wie Maria an das Kinderfüsschen greift, bereits vorfand, wenn er es nicht selbst gewesen ist, der diesen Zug aus der überlieferten Form umdachte. Für eine solche Annahme spricht, dass die Madonnen in Siena (Servi) und Orvieto (Servi) den gespangten gotischen Mantel tragen, der in sienesischen Bildern nicht vorkommt. Dieser Typ enthielt auch die altertümliche Form des Kopftuches, wie die Madonna del Bordone es zeigt. Man muss ferner schliessen, dass Guido's Madonna einen ähnlichen Typ zur Voraussetzung hat, der ebenfalls das Kopftuch in der Form Coppo's enthielt, also eine sitzende Hodegetria. Die Madonna in Arezzo wäre demnach ein später, bereits umgebildeter Nachklang dieses Typus.[1]

Das Kopftuch-Motiv kann man füglich als eine sienesische Rezeption bezeichnen, die in der Stadt Guido's eine sozusagen bodenständige Entwicklung gehabt hat und zwar in einer freien, lebendigen Art, die Guido und seinem Kreise eigentümlich ist, aber von Duccio ebenso fallen gelassen wurde, wie das Motiv der entschieden nach rechts sitzenden Maria. Man wird nun erst klar erkennen, dass die Form des Kopftuches der Carmine-Madonna sehr abweicht, sowohl von dem, was im Guidokreise üblich ist, als auch von der Redaktion Coppo's. Das Tuch geht nicht stufenartig über die Schläfen bis zu den Augen empor, um bloss über der Stirn sich in einem segmentförmigen Überfall zu schliessen, vielmehr ist es in einmaliger, straffer Führung winklig über den Kopf gezogen. Das ist starrer und härter als jene im Guidokreise übliche Form, die ein grosses Verständnis für das Weiche

[1] Ein sienesisches Tafelbild, das diesen Typus der thronenden Madonna rein enthielte, also mit der fächerförmigen Ausbreitung des Schleiertuches auf der Schulter, kenne ich nicht. Die thronende Anna selbzweit in einer sienesischen Miniatur der Libreria Piccolomini im Dom zu Siena (Antiphonar G. Folio 86), die ich seinerzeit veröffentlicht habe (*Duccio*, Tafel 64) bestätigt immerhin das Vorhandensein dieser älteren Form in Siena.

und Bewegliche des Stoffes erkennen lässt, und dies selbst in schwachen Bildern wie dem Dossale von 1270. Zunächst also scheint es, als lasse sich die Carmine-Madonna in Hinsicht auf das Kopftuch-Motiv in die sienesische Reihe nicht einfügen.

Aber es gibt ein Gemälde, mit dem die Carmine-Madonna im Bereich sienesischer Überlieferung ihre Spur zurückgelassen hat, und zwar die kleine, wenig bedeutende Madonna im Palazzo Pubblico zu S. Gimignano (Abb. 3), die den Typus der Carmine-Madonna getreu wiederholt, jedoch ohne das Kopftuch.[1] Obwohl es zu beweisen nicht leicht ist, zumal sich die Tafel in einem schlimmen Zustand befindet, halte ich sie doch für sienesisch, im gleichen Sinne, wie man etwa die kleine Halbfiguren-Madonna der Akademie in Siena (No. 17) als sienesisch ansprechen muss. Stilistisch wird man das Bild in S. Gimignano ein weniges vor die Madonna der Akademie (No. 16) rücken müssen, zeitlich käme ihr nur ein verhältnismässig spätes Datum zu. Für die Definierung der Carmine-Madonna ist diese Beziehung aber doch wenig ergebnisreich, da sich nicht sicherstellen lässt, ob das Bild in S. Gimignano wirklich eine Nachformung der Tafel der Carmine ist. Man wird vielmehr zugeben müssen, dass der Carmine-Typus auch in einer Redaktion ohne das Kopftuch vorhanden gewesen sei. Im allgemeinen ist aber dieses Ergebnis doch wertvoll, da es mit der Carmine-Madonna beweist, dass ein Madonnentyp, der von der byzantinischen Glykophilousa verschieden ist, zum Besitzstand der Überlieferung gehörte. Er muss älter sein, als die Carmine-Redaktion, da die Aufnahme des Kopftuches in diesen älteren Typus nur eine italienische Rezeption sein kann.

Es lässt sich nun vorstellen, dass der weiche Stil, der empfindsame Ausdruck der Madonna del Voto eine Weiterbildung des Stiles der Carmine-Madonna sein könnte. Die einzelnen Formenelemente des Bildes in der Cappella delle Grazie, etwa das Gesichtsoval, das runde, mild-plastische Kinn, der Mund mit der zusammengezogenen Unterlippe und der langen Oberlippe, die Nase mit der nur noch sanft abgeflachten Kuppe, die Brauenbogen, der Schnitt der Augen, alles dieses im einzelnen verglichen sieht wie eine Sänftigung des Carmine-Stiles aus, wie eine gefühlsdurchtränkte Veredlung. Wenn in der Carmine die Grundform des Gesichtes der Maria ein

[1] Auf diesen Zusammenhang habe ich bereits hingewiesen (*Duccio*, p. 221). Van Marle *a.a.O.* Bd. I, p. 381 sagt zwar, dass man dieses Bild (heute ohne Nummer) als eine freie gleichzeitige Kopie der Carmine-Madonna ansehen könne, behauptet aber irrtümlich, sie trage das Kopftuch. —Der Faltenstil der Madonna in S. Gimignano ist "toskanisch härter" als jener der Carmine-Madonna. Der als Röhrenform gut verstandene Ärmel der Tunika des Knaben mit der perspektivisch gesehenen Endigung geht über das hinaus, was Guido selbst im segnenden Christus des Aufsatzbildes erreicht hatte. Eigenartig ist die Haltung der rechten Kinderhand mit der Schriftrolle aber nicht neu, vielmehr byzantinische Erinnerung. Man findet dieses Greifmotiv mit der Mittelhand in Aufsicht genau wieder (aber in der Wendung nach unten) in der Halbfigur der Madonna mit dem Kinde im Fresko der rechten Apsis zu S. Angelo in Formis (Photo Anderson no. 27204), das von einem sehr stark byzantinisierenden Maler herrührt, vielleicht sogar von einem Griechen (11. Jahrhundert).

18. Orvieto. Chiesa dei Servi. Coppo di Marcovaldo (?). Thronende Madonna um 1270. (Alinari phot.)

19. Parma. Pinakothek. Meliore, Dossale: Halbfigur des segnenden Christus mit Petrus, Maria, Johannes Evangelista, Paulus, datiert 1271. Ausschnitt, die Madonna

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gedrungenes Oval von präziser und strenger Schärfe und wie getrieben vordrängender plastischer Rundheit genannt werden darf, so ist in der Cappella delle Grazie die Form ein längliches, sehr zart empfundenes Eirund. Der Stil geht hier nicht auf starke Körperlichkeit aus, er arbeitet weniger mit der Linie, ist viel malerischer gesehen. Was beiden Bildern gemeinsam ist, muss man konventionelles Ausdrucksmittel nennen, oder Zeitstil. In Pisa, Lucca oder Florenz wird man die Formenelemente in ähnlicher Verwandtschaft aufspüren können. Denn die gemeinsame Grundlage der Gesamtentwicklung ist die byzantinische Überlieferung, aus ihr stammen diese einzelnen Formen, auch der hochgewölbte Brauenbogen und das gedrungene Gesichtsoval. Man vergleiche nur die Madonna unter den Mosaiken der Martorana in Palermo, um das bestätigt zu finden. Es scheint überhaupt, dass gerade Mosaiken bei der Ausbildung der frühen maniera bizantina eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben. Denn eben die "kalligraphische Modellierung" der rechten Wange der Maria wird sich kaum anders verstehen lassen, als eine Umbildung der Mosaiktechnik ins Linear-Malerische.[1] Dass im Kruzifixus des Giunta Pisano in S. Ranierino der hochgerundete Brauenbogen im gedrungenen Gesichtsoval so stark sich ausspricht, kommt eben daher, dass für Mittelitalien in Pisa der Zusammenhang mit byzantinischer Überlieferung am engsten ist und fast bis zum Ende des Dugento ziemlich rein bewahrt wird.

Die Carmine-Madonna lässt sich also stilistisch der Manier Guido's und seiner Schule, die um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts und später das vertritt, was man wirklich sienesisch nennen darf, nicht ohne weiteres zugesellen. Eines aber bleibt, was die Carmine-Madonna mit der Madonna del Voto sehr eng verbindet, nämlich das sienesische sentimento im Ausdruck, das trotz der strengen Form in dem Bilde der Carmine und vielleicht gerade deshalb, so stark auf den Betrachter wirkt. Auch wie das Kopftuch sich auf die Schultern in sanftem Bogen legt (oder besser, gelegt haben muss) kann man sich schwer anders als unter dem Eindruck sienesischer Bilder enstanden denken. Die Technik, in der die beiden Nimben ausgeführt sind, hat in Siena und auch anderswo kein Gegenstück, wenn es auch scheint, als ob die mandelförmigen Ornamente den in Siena so beliebten ovalen Glaskörpern verwandt seien. Die plastisch, in Stuck aufgearbeitete granulationsartige Füllung kommt im Umkreise Guido's nicht vor, wo eine sehr deutlich bestimmbare Nimbenornamentierung (halb Liniengravierung, halb Punzierung) feststehende Werkstattgewohnheit ist.

Die bisherige Untersuchung der Carmine-Madonna hat also ein nur unsicheres Ergebnis. Das Bild könnte in Siena enstanden sein, da es durchaus

[1] In der byzantinischen Mosaiktafel mit dem segnenden Christus im Bargello zu Florenz (Photo Alinari 30918) ist diese Linienführung unter den Augen erkennbar, auch das Übergehen der Brauenbogen in die Endigung der Lidspalte. Hier auch der tiefe, wie geschminkt wirkende Schatten über den Augendeckeln bis zur Braue.

nicht frei von Sienesischem ist. Anderseits wirkt es in Siena fremd. Das muss nun wohl in der Weise erklärt werden, dass ein berühmtes Gnadenbild fremder Herkunft von einem Sienesen gemalt vor uns stände, der im sentimento sein Wesen nicht verleugnet hätte, im Stil aber an das Vorbild sehr nahe herangegangen wäre. Ist es so, dann müsste das Bild um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts oder bald nach ihr gemalt sein. Die Carmine-Madonna hat den ursprünglichen Tatbestand des angenommenen Vorbildes offenbar ziemlich getreu festgehalten. Dafür ist eben die kleine Madonna in S. Gimignano Beweis, wenn man dieses Bild, wie man ein Recht hat, nicht auf die Carmine-Madonna, sondern auf deren Vorbild zurückführt. Selbst die Faltenverteilung im Gewande des Knaben bewahrt die gemeinsamen Grundzüge. Der Faltenstil der Carmine-Madonna aber entspräche dem, was in Siena um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts erreicht wird.

Das Fogg Art Museum der Harvard-Universität zu Cambridge hat nun (1926) in Florenz eine Madonna erworben,[1] die für mittelalterliche Kunst der Carmine-Madonna ungewöhnlich nahe steht (Abb. 5, 6). Das Studium des Originals ergab mir, dass die Reinigung des Bildes mit Sorgfalt vorgenommen worden, und dass die Tafel von Übermalungen verhältnismässig frei ist. Die Fehlstellen sind nicht erneuert, sondern nur in neutralem Ton ausgefüllt. Die Dekoration der Zwickel ist modern oder wenigstens stilgerecht ergänzt, der Goldgrund in leidlichem Zustand. Von der ikonographischen Verwandtschaft beider Stücke überzeugen die Abbildungen sehr schnell. Die Fogg-Madonna gibt so erwünschte Möglichkeit, die zerstörten Partien der Carmine-Madonna wenigstens zum grösseren Teile auf den ursprünglichen Tatbestand zurück zu führen. Wichtig ist zunächst die Frage nach dem Verhältnis beider Bilder zueinander. Man sieht sehr bald, dass sie trotz dieser grossen Nähe, im Linienempfinden, im plastischen Wollen, im Temperament von einander höchst verschieden sind. Ich denke hier zunächst nicht an die beträchtlich zahlreichen Abweichungen in der Stilisierung der Einzelformen, etwa des Kinderkopfes an Stirn und Haaren, der Ohren bei Mutter und Kind, der oberen Augenlider, der Brauenbogen, der Nasenwurzel, des Mundes usw. Ich denke vielmehr an den Gesamteindruck im Vergleich beider, durch den das sienesische sentimento der Carmine-Madonna ein starkes Repoussoir erhält. Die Fogg-Madonna ist nicht nur in der Qualität geringer, obwohl sie ein ungewöhnlich schönes Bild ist, sie ist auch viel härter, im Plastischen von einer fast blechernen Getriebenheit, selbst wenn man sich vorhält, dass die Reinigung der Tafel ihre bindende Patina genommen hat.

[1] Die Photographien des Bildes verdanke ich der Liebenswürdigkeit von Prof. Dr. Paul Sachs, des Direktors am Fogg-Museum, ihm auch die Anregung, die mit der Fogg-Madonna in Zusammenhang stehende Gruppe von Madonnen zu untersuchen und meine seit Jahren in dieser Richtung gehenden Studien auf die Tafel in Cambridge zu sammeln.

Die Carmine-Madonna besitzt etwa im Zuge der Nase zum Brauenbogen und dem Übergang zur Lidspalte eine Zartheit des Linientemperamentes, einen leise vibrierenden Fluss, der in der Fogg-Madonna ganz fehlt. Der Brauenbogen der Carmine-Madonna ist viel flacher und auf eine sehr gefühlte Art mit dem Einmünden in die Lidspalte ausgewogen. In der Fogg-Madonna ist das alles derber und gröber, und das Auge bekommt durch das viel breitere, helle, obere Lid etwas Vorquellendes im Blick. Überall stösst man auf verwandte Unterschiede. Sehr deutlich in der ganz abweichenden Form des Gesichtsovals, das viel spitzer ist.

Als besonders bemerkenswert muss erachtet werden, dass beide Bilder die besondere Form des Kopftuches gemeinsam haben. Es kann kein Zweifel sein, dass man das Aufliegen des Tuches auf der Schulter für die Carmine-Madonna so ergänzen muss, wie es die Fogg-Madonna hat, also zu einer Form, die in sienesischen Madonnen allgemein gebräuchlich ist. Die grossen Verschiedenheiten beider Gemälde bedingen den Schluss, dass sie keineswegs aus einer Werkstatt kommen, wie ein erster flüchtiger Blick lehren möchte, sondern dass beide ein Vorbild wiederholen und an weit voneinander entfernten Orten entstanden sein können.

Für die Fogg-Madonna gibt die Ornamentierung des Nimbus einen wichtigen Fingerzeig, der von neuem beweist, wie gut man daran tut, dergleichen Werkstattbräuche nicht gering zu achten.[1] Die Technik gleicht pisanischer Arbeit, wie man sie in der grossartigen Madonna aus S. Martino (Pisa, Museo

[1] Im allgemeinen darf man sagen, dass dergleichen handwerkliche Gepflogenheiten streng festgehalten wurden und offenbar eine Art Überlieferung bildeten, die rein zu bewahren, man eine gewisse Nötigung empfand. Da Gehilfen und Schüler eines Meisters wechselten, denen doch die Ausführung von solcherlei weniger wichtiger Arbeit vorwiegend oblag, wird wohl der Meister selbst die Vorzeichnung gegeben haben, die dann in der Technik ausgeführt wurde, die in der betreffenden Werkstatt herkömmlich war. Zu diesem Herkommen gehörten auch die Ornamentationsmotive, für die man zuweilen eine sehr reiche Musterkarte findet. Es ist bezeichnend, dass im ganzen Arnotal von Pisa bis Florenz, wenigstens in der zweiten Hälfte des Dugento die Überlieferungen mit einander verwandt sind, während in Siena schon früh eine ganz davon abweichende Form in Übung ist. Die Grundlage sienesischer Technik ist Liniengravierung vermischt mit wenigen kleinen sternförmigen Stanzen. Duccio arbeitet nur mit reinen Liniengravierung. Die sienesische Gravierung vor ihm besitzt bereits Sicherheit der Hand und Feinheit des Liniengefühls. Die pisanische Technik ist unvergleichlich ärmer. Gravierung kommt kaum vor. Man arbeitet mit dem Punzierstahl und lässt das Ornament aus glatten Mustern bestehen, die sich ohne Linienbegrenzung von dem unregelmässig punktartig punzierten Grunde abheben. Eine verwandte aber ganz nüchterne Technik verwendet die vielbeschäftigte Werkstatt des Magdalenenmeisters mit einer sehr kurzen Reihe meist byzantinischer Ornamentmotive, so dass zuweilen dasselbe Motiv in den grossen Nimben derselben Tafeln mehrmals wiederkehrt. Ähnlich arbeitet Meliore. In Lucca bei dem unbedeutenden Deodato Orlandi sieht man dann auch in der Nimbentechnik den starken sienesischen Einschlag mit seiner Bevorzugung der Liniengravierung. Cimabue und sein Kreis verwenden die unregelmässige Punktlinien-Punzierung in gewöhnlich sehr magerem phantasiearmen Muster. Ein bestimmtes Rosetten-Ornament findet sich in allen Bildern Cimabue's und seines Kreises. Einzig ein Prunkbild, wie die Madonna aus S. Trinità, ist sehr reich dekoriert, der Goldgrund auch ausserhalb der Nimben guillochiert aber gegen Sienesisches gehalten nachlässig in der Arbeit und arm an Erfindung. Selbstverständlich gibt es besonders in späterer Zeit Vermischungen. Als amüsantes Beispiel diene der Jakobus im Dossale No. 6 der Akademie in Siena, dessen Nimbendekoration offenbar toskanische Arbeit ist, während die Technik der übrigen Nimben rein sienesisch bleibt. Ein absolut zuverlässiger Faden der Ariadne, der durch das Labyrinth dugentistischer Werkstätten sicher führte, ist natürlich die Beobachtung dieser Überlieferungen auch nicht.

Civico) leicht wieder erkennt. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhange bedeutungsvoll, dass die besondere Form, in der das Kopftuch um das Haupt der Madonna geschlungen ist, auf der Tafel mit der "hl. Anna Selbzweit" in diesem Museum wiederkehrt. Das schöne Bild steht jedenfalls dem Meister der Madonna aus S. Martino sehr nahe, stammt vielleicht sogar von seiner Hand (Abb. 21). Zwar ist die Führung des Hauptzuges hier wesentlich steiler, auch die Faltenverteilung geändert, entsprechend dem viel fortgeschritteneren Stoffgefühl des pisanischen Meisters, dessen Tätigkeit in das letzte Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts fallen muss. Aber es ist doch ganz offenbar, dass dieses Kopftuch auf einen Madonnentypus zurückgeht, der eben der Carmine-Typus sein wird. Es entspricht dem sehr konservativen Zug pisanischer Malerei, die in dem Meister der Madonna aus S. Martino ihren letzten wirklich grossen Dugentokünstler hat, dass sich das Kopftuch fächerförmig und kragenartig auf den Schultern ausbreitet, in einer Form, die wir schon bei Coppo als altertümlich feststellen konnten. Die Folgerung ist also gegeben, dass auch in Pisa jener ältere Madonnen-typus, den wir für Coppo voraussetzten bekannt war, und dass er dort mit dem Carminetypus eine Verbindung eingegangen hatte. Sicher ist, dass der Stil der Fogg-Madonna eine Vorstufe des Stils bedeutet, der für den Meister der Madonna aus S. Martino charakteristisch ist. Er bildet auch die Vorstufe für den Magdalenenmeister, eben weil er die Nähe zum Byzantinismus darstellt, die auch im Stile Giunta's enthalten ist. Es passt zu alledem, dass die Fogg-Madonna aus Barga stammen soll, einem Orte, der zwar näher an Lucca als an Pisa, aber noch immer in der pisanischen Einfluss-Sphäre liegt. Weil dieser Stil allgemeine Grundlage ist, wäre es freilich übereilt, die Fogg-Madonna pisanische Arbeit zu nennen.

Bilder solcher Art, die irgendwie auf den Magdalenenmeister und seinen Kreis hinweisen und zugleich pisanische Züge verraten, sind nicht selten. Ich nenne die Madonna in Halbfigur mit dem fast liegenden Kinde im Museum zu Worcester, die dort fälschlich dem Guido da Siena zugeschrieben wird.[1] Die Dekoration des Nimbus stimmt im Grundmotiv (in einen Ring eingeschriebene Rosette) und in der Technik überein mit der Nimbendekoration der grossen Madonna aus S. Martino, mit der sie im Stil nur geringe Verwandtschaft hat. Man wird das Bild in Worcester toskanisch-florentinisch nennen dürfen und nur spät datieren können, etwa gegen Ende des Jahrhun-

[1] Raymond Wyer im *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, XII, 1922, pp. 66 f., Abb.; Worcester Art Museum *Catalogue*, 1922, p. 3, Abb.; Van Marle *a.a.O.* Bd. I, p. 358 (Abb. V, p. 433) nennt das Bild florentinisch, Ende 13. Jahrhundert. — Ich kenne das Original nicht, doch lehrt schon die Photographie, dass die Tafel sehr stark restauriert ist. Der ganze Mantel der Madonna, das Kleidchen des Kindes, dessen Haare sind vollkommen erneuert, die Haube der Madonna ist wegretuschiert. Stark übergangen sind die Musterung des Tuches im Hintergrund und auch die Engel in den Zwickeln. Annehmbar erhalten scheint mir nur das Antlitz der Maria; am Gesicht des Knaben ist ebenfalls viel erneuert.

20. Siena. Dom. Cappella delle Grazie. Kreis des Guido da Siena. Madonna del Voto, um 1260. (Alinari phot.)

21. Pisa. Museo Civico. Meister der Madonna aus S. Martino (oder Werkstatt), die hl. Anna Selbzweit, um 1280 oder später. (Brogi phot.)

derts. Dieser Tafel verwandt, wenngleich älter und keineswegs aus derselben Werkstatt kommend, scheint mir die ausdrucksvolle Madonna in Halbfigur (eine frontalsitzende Maria auf stark verstümmelter Tafel) der Sammlung Martin A. Ryerson in Chicago, die dort richtig als toskanisch bezeichnet ist.[1] Vielleicht darf man hier als Verbindungsstück zu dem Kreise des Magdalenenmeisters die sehr beschädigte und stark beschnittene Madonna in Halbfigur des Fogg-Museums anreihen, die Offner dem Magdalenenmeister selbst zuschreibt.[2] An solchen Bildern vermag man die Linie der Stilwandlung und der Stilerweichung zu erkennen, die von der Fogg-Madonna zum späten Magdalenenmeister führt. Dabei hat zweifellos sienesisches sentimento seinen nicht geringen Wirkungsanteil gehabt, eine Beobachtung, die auch von Offner bestätigt wird.[3]

Für die Fogg-Madonna ergibt sich so als Schluss, dass man sie kaum anders als toskanische Arbeit wird bezeichnen dürfen. Sie enthält zwar pisanische Züge, steht aber auch an der Peripherie des Magdalenenmeisters. Sie zeitlich festzulegen ist schwer, ich möchte sie für verhältnismässig spät halten, jedenfalls in das letzte Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts rücken, wobei ich mir bewusst halte, dass in diesem Umkreise Datierungen höchst problematisch sind, da datierte Bilder ganz fehlen.

Schliesslich bleibt die wichtige Frage nach dem Urbild der Carmine-Madonna und der des Fogg-Museums. Man muss ein beiden gemeinsames Urbild voraussetzen, obwohl man genötigt ist, die Carmine-Madonna für älter zu halten. Wo dieses Urbild verehrt wurde, wissen wir nicht. In jedem Falle war es bereits die italienische Redaktion eines aus dem Osten mehr oder weniger unverändert übernommenen Typus. Möglich, dass dieses Urbild das Schleiertuch nicht enthielt, denn es gibt ausser der oben erwähnten Madonna in S. Gimignano (Abb. 3) eine andere fast wörtliche Wiederholung des Carmine-Typus in einer Madonna als Halbfigur im Museum zu Palermo (Abb. 4). Die Tafel ist stark beschädigt und auch zum Teil, wie am Haar des Kindes, übermalt, steht aber ikonographisch der Carmine-Madonna näher als das Stück in S. Gimignano. Leider weiss man über die Herkunft des Bildes gar nichts.[4] Es enthält in den beiden oberen Ecken, abweichend von den besprochenen Madonnen, rechts und links je eine winzige Engelhalbfigur mit einer betend erhobenen, verhüllten Hand. Merkwürdig und ohne Analogie in italienischen Bildern ist die heruntergezogene Form des Nimbus der Maria und die feine, spitzenartige Ausgestaltung des Ornamentes in sehr zarter Punzierungstechnik, die von der groben pisanischen

[1] Das Bild hat sehr gelitten, doch scheinen die Gesichter leidlich erhalten zu sein.

[2] Richard Offner *a.a.O.*, S. 12, Abb. 4D.

[3] *Ebenda*, S. 13–14.

[4] Für den Hinweis auf dieses Bild, die Photographie und die Erlaubnis, sie hier zu reproduzieren, schulde ich meinem Freunde, Prof. Dr. Victor Lazareff in Moskau, aufrichtigen Dank.

Arbeit deutlich absticht. Das Antlitz der Madonna ist sehr weich in der Empfindung, weicher als in der Carmine-Madonna, mit deren Einzelformen die Tafel in Palermo recht verwandt bleibt. Alles aber ist sanfter und schmiegsamer, der Brauenbogen flacher, die Biegung der Nase fast ganz verschwunden. Man muss die sienesische Anmut in dem Bilde doch erkennen. Ich würde sogar versucht sein, das Bild sienesisch zu nennen, da es möglich wäre, es stilistisch auf dem Wege von der Carmine-Madonna über die Madonna del Voto zum frühen Duccio als eine Etappe zu bezeichnen. Mir scheint die Tafel eine späte Redaktion des Carmine-Typus, die von neuem die Tatsache bestätigt, dass ein besonders berühmtes und heiliggehaltenes Urbild vorhanden gewesen sein muss, dass aber bereits eine italienische Umformung darstellt.

Es würde verlockend sein, der mütterlichen Madonna, wie sie sich im Carmine-Typus darstellt, noch weiter nachzugehen, zu zeigen, wie die italienische Fassung der eigentlichen Glykophilousa offenbar Züge des Carmine-Typus aufnimmt, wie die Tradition lockerer wird, verschiedene Spielarten schafft oder vorhandene Motive aufpfropft. Es ergäbe ein wechselvolles Bild, das gegen Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts immer belebter wird und zu Beginn des Trecento noch bei nachzüglerischen Dugentisten zu verhältnismässig freien Lösungen führt.[1] Doch würde dies den hier gezogenen Rahmen

[1] Die Anzahl der mir sonst noch bekannten Bilder der mütterlichen Madonna (dem Carmine-Typus näher oder ferner) ist nicht gross. Ein kleines sienesischen Madonnenbildchen unter gotischem Dreipassbogen aus dem Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts hat van Marle zuerst erwähnt, es hängt in der Pinakothek in Perugia (van Marle *a.a.O.*, I, p. 383, Abb. p. 388). Die eigentliche Glykophilousa (das Kind legt seine Armen um den Hals der Maria) erscheint in der Madonna der Sammlung Platt in Englewood (zuerst veröffentlicht von Perkins in *Rassegna d'Arte* 1914, p. 97 Abb.) in einer Redaktion, die den Zusammenhang mit dem Carmine-Typ deutlich erkennen lässt; von Perkins dem Guido da Siena zugeschrieben. Im Stil etwa der Madonna der Akademie No. 16 nahestehend. Ich kenne das Original nicht, nach der guten Photographie scheint das Bild stark überarbeitet, die Nimben sind modern. Als letztes der Reihe ist die Madonna der Galerie in Perugia (No. 878) zu nennen (Abb. 7), die aus dem Besitz des Monsignore Marzolini stammt und auf den Flügeln Szenen aus der Leidensgeschichte des Herrn bringt. Hier ist die mütterliche Madonna mit dem Typus der thronenden Madonna verbunden und sitzt unter gotischem Dreipassbogen. Der Maler ist ein nachzüglerischer umbrischer Meister, der wohl von Vigoroso da Siena herkommt. Das Bild selbst schon aus dem Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts.

Eine Abwandlung der Glykophilousa, in der das Kind seinen Mund ganz nahe an den der Mutter bringt und sie zugleich eng umhalst, während Maria ihre Linke unter den Nacken des Christusknaben legt, zeigt ein kleines, ganz spätes Madonnenbild der Sammlung Gualino in Turin (vergl. Lionello Venturi, *La Collezione Gualino*, Torino-Roma, 1926, Tafel 2). Dass Maria ihre linke Hand auf die Schulter oder unter den Nacken des Knaben legt, ist ein seltenes Motiv, für das ich als älteres Beispiel nur das Freskobruchstück einer Hodegetria an S. Maria Nuova (S. Francesca Romana) in Rom anführen kann (Photo Anderson 27838), dort aber nicht mit einer mütterlichen Madonna, sondern mit einer Hodegetria verbunden (vergl. van Marle, *La peinture romaine au Moyen-Age*, Strassburg, 1921, p. 182). An dem Bilde der Sammlung Gualino ist noch das kleine Taschentüchlein bemerkenswert, das von der Linken der Maria über den Rücken des Kindes hinabhängt. Es taucht hier ganz spät wieder auf, nachdem es sich bei Guido und Coppo zu jenem grossen Tuch, auf dem das Kind sitzt, umgebildet hatte. Als frühes Beispiel des Tüchleins bei einer thronenden Madonna sei das Mosaik der Apsis von S. Maria in Domnica zu Rom (9. Jahrhundert) genannt, wo es einen bunten Rand hat und über den Daumen der Maria wie eine Schleife gezogen ist (Photo Anderson 2386), doch ist dies eine Madonna des strengen Typus. Maria brauchte also nur das Christkind auf den linken Arm zu nehmen, damit dieses Tüchlein unter dem Körper des Knaben zum Vorschein kommt. Als Beispiel einer stehendem Madonna mit dem Tüchlein diene das Mosaik der Hauptapsis des Domes in Torcello

überschreiten. Ich möchte nur noch eine kleine Gruppe von Bildern heranziehen, die mit dem Carminetypus enger zusammenhängen und als Abwandlung besonders interessant sind.

Das Diptychon der Florentiner Akademie (Nos. 28, 29), das aus S. Chiara in Lucca stammt[1] und traditionell dem Buonaventura Berlinghieri zugeschrieben wurde, enthält auf dem linken Flügel eine mütterliche Madonna, die den Carmine-Typus in einer neuen Redaktion bringt. Das Kind ist links (vom Beschauer aus) gesetzt (Abb. 8) in der Relation etwa der Wladimirskaja (Abb. 1), segnet mit der Rechten auf griechische Art (abweichend von der Wladimir-Madonna und dem Carmine-Typus) und hält in seiner Linken die Schriftrolle. Die Beinchen sind gekreuzt, ähnlich wie in der Carmine-Madonna, doch ist das rechte fast ganz gestreckt. Vor allem neuartig aber wirkt es, wie Maria den Mantel in einem Bausch hochnimmt, den Rücken des Knaben zu decken, wie wenn sie das Kind mütterlich besorgt ganz in den weiten Falten ihres Mantels bergen wollte. Schon im blossen Gedanken ein Zug liebevollster Zartheit, eine Variante, für die ich ein echt byzantinisches Vorbild nicht nachzuweisen vermag.

Der Zusammenhang mit dem Urbild der Carmine-Madonna ergibt sich

(12. Jahrhundert). Bei Guido und Coppo wäre demnach aus dem Taschentüchlein der vornehmen Dame eine richtige Windel geworden. Als Taschentüchlein erscheint es nun in dem Bilde der Sammlung Gualino, wie schon im Dugento in der Hand der weinenden Maria auf Kruzifixen (Giunta Pisano, Pisa, S. Ranierino; Giunta Pisano, Assisi, S. Maria degli Angeli; Kruzifixus in S. Domenico in Arezzo, sämtlich abgebildet bei Sirén *a.a.O.*). Auch in dem sehr interessanten kleinen Triptychon mit einer mütterlichen Madonna bei Wladimir de Grüneisen (siehe unten).

Das Bildchen der Sammlung Gualino, das ich im Original nicht kenne, ist auch noch darum wichtig, weil es offenbar einen berühmten Typus einer innigen Madonna (zu einer ausführlicheren Redaktion umgebildet) darstellt. Dieser Typus wird vertreten durch die Madonna in S. Maria Maggiore zu Florenz, die ich seinerzeit irrtümlich dem Meo da Siena zugeschrieben habe (Abb. Weigelt, *Duccio*, Tafel 55). Aus diesem Bilde blickt die Dugentoformulierung sehr deutlich hervor. Das Museo Horne in Florenz besitzt eine Wiederholung des Typus, eine andere, spätere in der Vatikanischen Pinakothek No. 92 (Photo Anderson 24068). Eine unbedeutende, späte Redaktion der mütterlichen Madonna mit links gesetztem Kinde befand sich im Florentiner Kunsthandel (Photo Reali 571).— Über eine sehr bewegte Redaktion, die man die *Madonna mit dem unruhigen Kinde* nennen könnte, habe ich kürzlich in *Art in America* gesprochen (Vol. XV, 1927, pp. 255 ff.). Das Bild ist inzwischen in die Sammlung Gualino in Turin übergegangen (vergl. Lionello Venturi, *Alcune opere della collezione Gualino esposte nella R. Pinacoteca di Torino*, Milano, 1928, Taf. 5.). Venturi datiert das Bild um 1270 und nennt es florentinisch. Die Datierung ist sicher zu früh, der Meister ist ein Nachzügler, und ich glaube, dass meine Datierung auf 1290 richtiger ist. Doch möchte ich Venturi heute darin beistimmen, die Tafel, wenn nicht florentinisch, so doch auch nicht sienesisch, sondern toskanisch zu nennen.

[1] Vergl. Thode, *Franz von Assisi* (Berlin, 1904), p. 480; Venturi, *Storia*, Bd. V (1907), p. 35, Abb.; Weigelt, *Duccio*, 1912, p. 223; Sirén *a.a.O.*, pp. 89 ff.; Offner, *a.a.O.*, p. 10. Sirén hält die traditionelle Zuschreibung auf Buonaventura Berlinghieri für "vollkommen richtig" und datiert das Bild, verstehe ich ihn gut, auf ungefähr 1260. Offner hat dieses Urteil, wie mir scheint, zurechtgerückt, wenn er dem Bilde nur die Bezeichnung "Schule des Buonaventura Berlinghieri" lässt. Der Abstand in der Qualität gegenüber dem hervorragenden und bedeutenden Bilde des Buonaventura, dem hl. Franz in Pescia, datiert 1235, ist beträchtlich, auch im Stil. Der Figurentypus ist viel schmaler und schmächtiger. Da die florentiner Tafel sehr beschädigt ist, ist ein abschliessendes Urteil kaum noch zu gewinnen. Das Bild ist zum Teil stark abgerieben, zum Teil sehr übermalt und nicht nur der Hintergrund, sondern neben anderem vollständig die Gesichter der Maria und des Kindes. Dabei ist sogar der Nimbus des Knaben der Übermalung zum Opfer gefallen. Auch Offner scheint, wenngleich er das nicht ausdrücklich sagt, an einer Datierung um 1260 zu denken. Ich selbst halte es nicht für möglich, das Bild früher anzusetzen und würde eher geneigt sein, noch weiter herunter zu gehen.

aus der Faltenverteilung an der Tunika des Kindes. Auch über dem Leib und am Ärmel des Knaben erkennt man die verwandten Faltenzüge. Dass der kleine Christus segnet, nicht wie im Carmine-Typ die Hand einfach ausstreckt, möchte dafür sprechen, dass im Urbilde dieser Gestus des Segnens auf griechische Art vorhanden war. Im Ganzen genommen ist die Lösung so gut durchdacht, so klar geformt, dass man Missverständnisse als Reste eines Urbildes nicht aufzuzeigen vermag. Das ganz hochgezogene linke Knie des Kindes wirkt nur darum so wenig glücklich, weil der weite Ärmel des Knaben den linken Oberschenkel ungeschickt verdeckt. Selbst, wenn nun diese "neuartige" Formulierung der mütterlichen Madonna mit diesem Bilde als einziges Beispiel vorhanden wäre, würde die Folgerung falsch sein, in ihm eine individuelle Lösung zu sehen, die man auf das Konto des "Schöpferischen" bei einem unbekannten Schüler des Buonaventura Berlinghieri setzen dürfte. Auch in unserm Falle erhebt sich die Frage nach dem Vorbild, und es zeigt sich von neuem, dass in dem Florentiner Diptychon ein solches Vorbild wiederholt wird.

Ein zweites Beispiel für diese Lösung ist uns nämlich in der schönen Tafel der Sammlung Acton in Florenz erhalten, die auch aus sich selbst schon eine solche Folgerung stützt.[1] Diese Madonna (Abb. 9) sagt allerhand Wichtiges aus. Ihr Zusammenhang mit dem Diptychon, ikonographisch gesprochen, wird durch die Abbildungen überzeugend genug gemacht. Die nicht allzu grossen, aber bedeutungsvollen Abweichungen verraten, dass der Maler der Acton-Madonna das Urbild reiner widerspiegelt als jener des Diptychons. Wie der Knabe das linke Füsschen auf den Unterarm der Mutter setzt, seinen linken Arm enger am Körper hält, so dass das linke Knie frei und deutlich sichtbar wird, auch wie das rechte Bein weniger gestreckt und etwas nach aussen gedreht ist, alles dies verrät einen Künstler, der mit Bedacht und Klugheit nachformt. Dass er auch missverstehen kann, beweist die hängende, U-förmige Falte über dem Zeigefinger der rechten Hand Mariens. Diese Falte kommt in älteren Beispielen häufig vor. So in dem Mosaik der inneren Portallunette des Domes von Monreale (Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts), auf der eine Hodegetria dargestellt ist (Photo Brogi 15418). Die Falte hängt dort zwischen dem erhobenen Daumen und dem Zeigefinger auf die Mittelhand der Maria hinab. Oder, um ein spätes Beispiel anzuführen,

[1] Die Photographie verdanke ich der Liebenswürdigkeit von Mr. Arthur Acton, in dessen Sammlung ich die Tafel mehrmals studieren konnte. Sie trug ehedem eine frühe Übermalung (wohl aus dem Trecento), die vor einigen Jahren abgenommen worden ist. Unter dem dunklen, verschmutzten Mantel der Maria kam die alte Arbeit gut erhalten zum Vorschein, und ein ganz lichtes Himmelblau, das unvergesslich ist und an ähnliche Töne im Petrusaltar der Akademie in Siena erinnert. Das Gewand der Madonna ist dunkelblau, die Tunika des Kindes in einem hellen Zinnoberrot, sein Mäntelchen braun. Die Dekoration des Nimbus ist in Liniengravierung wie übrigens auch in der hl. Magdalena der Florentiner Akademie, die dem Magdalenenmeister den Namen gegeben hat. Van Marle, *a.a.O.*, Bd. V, p. 488, nennt die Madonna Acton florentinisch, Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts.

22. Siena. Akademie no. 15. Guido da Siena(?), Der Thronende Petrus. Mitte des XIII. Jahrhunderts.
(Anderson phot.)

in der, bäurisch groben Madonna der Florentiner Akademie, die Sirén kühn genug war, dem Berlinghiero Berlinghieri selbst zuzuschreiben.[1] Der Maler des Bildes der Sammlung Acton hat nun diese Falte über Mariens Hand nicht mehr recht verstanden, weshalb sie denn ein wunderliches Eigenleben führt. Übrigens wird man die Tafel doch toskanisch-florentinisch nennen müssen und das sienesische sentimento darin nicht übersehen.[2]

Die Frage nach dem Urtypus dieser Lösung muss vorläufig offen bleiben, so sehr die Tafel der Sammlung Acton dessen Vorhandensein als italienische Formulierung auch bezeugen mag. Wie leicht ist die Ausbildung dieses Typus logisch vorstellbar, wenn nur die rechte Hand der Maria sich bis zur Schulter des Knaben emporhob, wodurch aus dem mithinaufgezogenen Mantel der faltig herabgehende Zipfel natürlich entstand. Einen Ansatz zu solcher Bildung kann man bereits in der grossen Madonna Guido's erkennen, aber es fehlt uns nicht an einem Beispiel, dass für eine Formulierung dieses Typus auf italienischen Boden sprechen möchte. Es ist das Mittelbild eines kleinen Triptychons bei M. Wladimir de Grüneisen, das die Halbfigur einer mütterlichen Madonna mit linksgesetztem Kinde enthält.[3] Der Knabe sitzt etwa wie in der Tafel bei Mr. Acton, seine beiden Beinchen sind nicht gekreuzt, sondern werden nebeneinander gehalten, so dass die Füsse über den linken Oberarm der Maria hinabhängen. Der rechte Arm des Knaben ist ohne Segensgebärde ausgestreckt wie in der Carmine-Madonna. Die linke Hand der

[1] Sirén *a.a.O.*, pp. 72 ff., Tafel 8. Die Zuschreibung an Berlinghiero Berlinghieri scheint mir nicht haltbar. Die Tafel ist schwerlich etwas anderes als eine bäurische Arbeit des späten Dugento. Sie ist darum interessant, weil sie das weisse Schleiertuch bringt und Maria wie das Kind in Stuck aufgearbeitete Kronen tragen. Das zwischen den Knien der Maria herunterfallende Mantelstück, ein Motiv, das im Umkreise des Magdalenenmeisters so beliebt ist, verrät sich deutlich als eine Erinnerung an ein plastisches Vorbild, wofür man, um ein Beispiel zu nennen, die Holzfigur der thronenden Madonna aus Acuto bei Fiuggi vergleiche (Abb. Federigo Hermanin, *Il Palazzo di Venezia, Descrizione e Catalogo* [Bologna, 1925], p. 29) oder jene altbekannte Madonnenfigur in Alatri. Dabei erkennt man auch, woher die Malerei die birnenförmigen Faltenspiegel hat, die man wieder am besten in florentinischen Madonnen vergleicht. Sie erscheinen aber auch in der Mosaiktechnik. Jedenfalls tritt in dieser vermeintlichen Berlinghieri-Madonna der Zusammenhang mit der Plastik deutlich zutage, darum trägt sie auch Schleiertuch und Krone (vergl. oben Anm. 3, S. 201).

Für die erwähnte Falte über der linken Hand der Maria bietet die thronende Madonna des Fogg-Museums ein spätes Beispiel. Sie ist ein bäurisch derbes Stück, das toskanisch-florentinisch genannt werden kann (van Marle *a.a.O.*, Bd. I, p. 286 und Bd. V, p. 418, Abb., p. 419, pisanisch, Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts).— Auch die kleine Madonna in Halbfigur der Akademie in Siena no. 17, ein spätes sienesisches Stück bringt diese Falte an der linken Hand der Maria, die auch sonst ein recht geläufiges Motiv ist.

[2] Vielleicht ist dieses Missverständnis bereits im Carmine-Typus vorhanden. Die gekräuselten Falten hinter dem rechten Füsschen des Knaben (deutlicher in der Fogg-Madonna) gerade unter Mariens Hand könnten wohl so ausgelegt werden und würden dann in dem Palermitaner Bilde ganz schematisiert, die Erinnerung an das ursprüngliche Motiv demnach vollkommen verblasst sein. Bei dem hohen Alter des Motivs eine garnicht unwahrscheinliche Annahme.

[3] Vergl. *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens, Joseph Strzygowski zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Wien, 1923), pp. 204 ff., Abb. Tafel 24. Wladimir de Grüneisen, *La Madone du Triptyque inédit de Buonaventura Berlinghieri de Lucques.* Das interessante Stück wird von Grüneisen dem Buonaventura Berlinghieri selbst zugeschrieben. Ich kenne nur die schlechte Abbildung, die mir nicht für diese Zuschreibung zu sprechen scheint. Der genannte Aufsatz, der mir erst nach Abschluss dieser Arbeit zugänglich wurde, bringt besonders für die ältere Formulierung der mütterlichen Madonna wertvolle Beispiele.

Maria kommt aus dem hochgenommenen Mantel zum Vorschein und greift unter den rechten Arm des Kindes in einer Bewegung, die viel schwächer ist, als jene der Madonna des Guido. Maria hält in dieser Hand zugleich das weisse Taschentüchlein, das mit seinem bunten Rande ähnlich herabfällt wie bei Guido. Über der Mittelhand erscheint das Tüchlein wieder in zwei Bäuschen, die, beide eiförmig, nebeneinander liegen. Man wird geneigt sein, in dieser Redaktion eine Vorstufe jener bei Mr. Acton und des Diptychons zu sehen. Der unter dem Körper des Kindes in bogenförmigen Falten hinziehende Mantel war in der Halbfigurentafel bereits ausgebildet, wie etwa im Dossale No. 6 der Akademie in Siena oder, um ein toskanisches Beispiel anzuführen, in dem Mittelbild des kleinen Triptychons der Sammlung der Yale-Universität in New Haven, das Offner florentinisch um 1270 nennt.[1] Die mütterliche Madonna, wie sie das Triptychon der Sammlung Wladimir de Grüneisen zeigt, ist vorläufig das einzige Beispiel seiner Art. Da das weisse Tüchlein in einer zwar anderen, aber doch verwandten Formulierung in dem späten sienesischen Bildchen der Sammlung Gualino wieder erscheint, kann es nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass es eine besondere Spielart der "mütterlichen Madonna mit dem Tüchlein" gegeben haben wird, die irgendwie schon den Bildern des Guidokreises Vorbild gewesen sein muss. Die Madonna der Sammlung Grüneisen kann natürlich auch mit ihren besonderen Zügen Nachklang eines östlichen Prototyps (und damit nicht italienische Abwandlung) sein, der für die Ausbildung des Typus der Madonna bei Mr Acton (Abb. 9) fruchtbar geworden wäre, wenn nicht auch dieser bereits östlicher Import ist. Da ich an anderer Stelle gezeigt habe[2] wieviel für die Annahme spreche, dass ein so später Typus wie jener der *Madonna mit dem unruhigen Kinde* ebenfalls eingeführt worden sei, so wird auch hier die fremde Herkunft wahrscheinlicher als die Ausbildung auf italienischem Boden.

Die Ergebnisse dieser Studie mögen nur bescheiden sein, aber ich glaube nicht, dass es möglich ist, schon heute schärfer umschriebene Resultate vorzulegen. Im Grunde waren es ja auch nicht die Einzelergebnisse, die auszubreiten und zu begründen mir wichtig schien. Vielmehr war es mir wichtiger, am Einzelnen das Grundsätzliche zu klären, vor allem zu zeigen, dass neben der Stilforschung die Typenforschung mehr zu ihrem Rechte kommen muss, und dass innerhalb der Typenforschung viel feinere Unterscheidungen gewonnen werden können. Schliesslich aber lag mir daran, mit Nachdruck darauf hinzuweisen, wie das heiliggehaltene Gnadenbild als solches mit seiner weithin wirkenden Kraft örtliche und zeitliche künstlerische Traditionen überschneidet und uns mit sehr eindringlicher Stimme die Tatsache ins Gedächtnis zurückruft, welch gewaltigen Anteil am Leben und Sichwandeln

[1] Offner, *a.a.O.*, Tafel 5.
[2] Weigelt in *Art in America*, Bd. XV, *a.a.O.*

der künstlerischen Vorstellung die tiefe religiöse Ergriffenheit dieses Jahrhunderts hat, dessen machtvollste Antriebe gerade im Religiösen und nicht im Künstlerischen liegen. Dass in diesem Letzten der schöpferische Mensch eine weniger grosse Wichtigkeit für die Erneuerung und den fortzeugenden Wechsel gehabt habe, wird dadurch nicht bewiesen, dass es uns noch so schwer fällt, den einzelnen zu sehen und seine persönliche Wirksamkeit deutlich zu umschreiben. Denn dieses Schöpferische lebt und wirkt ganz anders als später, und Auge und kritische Erkenntnis darauf erfolgreich einzustellen haben wir eben erst begonnen. Ein Jahrhundert, das, um nur beim Tafelbilde zu bleiben, Werke hervorgebracht hat, wie Giunta's Kruzifixus in S. Maria degli Angeli zu Assisi, Berlinghieri's Franziskus-Bild in Pescia, die Madonna Guido's, die Madonna del Voto, den grossen Kruzifixus in S. Domenico in Arezzo, die Madonna aus S. Martino in Pisa, die Madonna Rucellai und die Madonna aus S. Trinità, ein solches Jahrhundert sollte der Verdächtigung nicht ausgesetzt sein, dass es ihm an schöpferischer Kraft und an schöpferischen Persönlichkeiten gemangelt habe.

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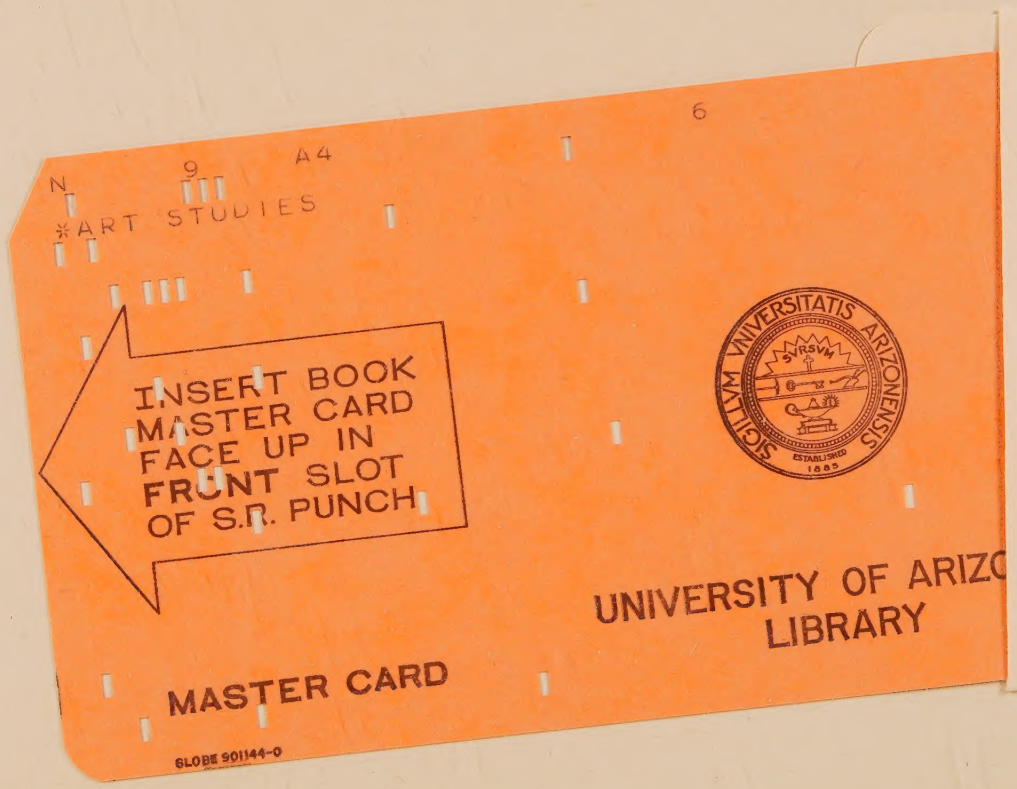

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